

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



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MARCH, 1954

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EDITORIALS

•  
THE EPISCOPATE OF THOMAS FIELDING SCOTT  
(1807-1867), FIRST MISSIONARY BISHOP OF  
OREGON AND WASHINGTON, 1854-1867

*By Thomas E. Jessett*

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BISHOP DANIEL SYLVESTER TUTTLE IN THE  
WEST

*By Kenneth L. Holmes*

•  
THE ELECTION OF BENJAMIN T. ONDERDONK  
AS FOURTH BISHOP OF NEW YORK

*By Walter H. Stowe*

•  
THE MARYLAND DIOCESAN LIBRARY

*By Nelson W. Rightmyer*

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REVIEWS: I. American Church History and  
Biography.  
II. English and General Church History.  
III. Theology and Philosophy.

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY : \$1.25 THE COPY--\$4 THE YEAR

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

## of the Protestant Episcopal Church



PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMISSION OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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PUBLICATION AND EDITORIAL OFFICE: 5 PATERSON ST., NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.  
Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above: Four Dollars per year in advance for subscriptions within the U. S. A.; Five Dollars per year in advance for foreign subscriptions. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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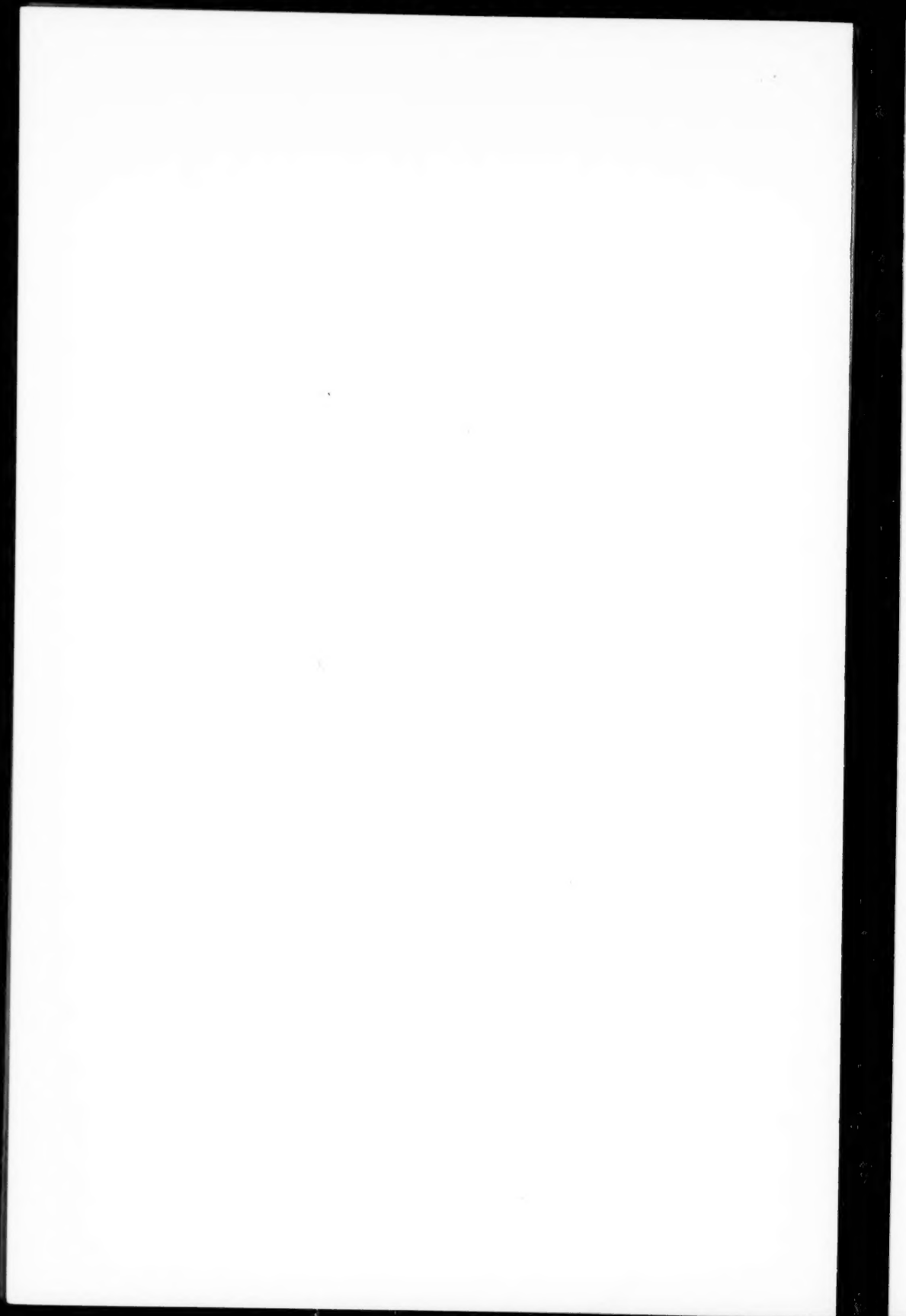
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VOLUME XXIII  
1954

JOINT COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION  
5 Paterson Street  
New Brunswick, New Jersey





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## Editorials

### Twenty-Third Year! Twenty-Third Volume!

**W**ITH this issue, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE begins its twenty-third year, twenty-third volume, of continuous publication. In the twenty-two volumes which have been completed, over 8,700 pages of Church history and biography have been made available to churchmen. Volume I (1932) totalled 240 pages; Volume XXII (1953) totalled 517 pages.

As to the quality of what it has published, our readers can judge for themselves. But one thing we know: HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has revolutionized for the better the teaching of American Church history in our theological seminaries. More than one professor of Church history has said that the Magazine is indispensable to the proper teaching of the subject.

Why should not the clergy know well the history of the Church in which they will serve the best years of their lives? And why should not the laity be well informed about the Church to which they belong, in which they worship, and through which they serve?

*The Living Church*, in a recent editorial (November 8, 1953), said:

"Scholars are none too plentiful in a Church [meaning the American Episcopal Church] which does not go out of its way to encourage scholarship."

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE exists to communicate historical and biographical truth about our Church, fairly and objectively, to those who will receive it—to those who are outside the Church as well as to those who are within it. To this extent, it encourages scholars and historical scholarship by providing a means of communicating their findings to the public. Unfortunately, we are unable to pay anything to the goodly company of scholars who contribute to its columns.

Let this also be in the record: The scholars of this Church are as unselfish a group as can be found anywhere. They make their contributions out of love of historical truth and of the Church, and they do not complain because they get no money in so doing.

Another by-product of its primary mission of publishing historical truth concerning this Church is that it is helping to make a dent in

the secularization of history. It is our contention that any presentation of history which ignores the religious factor in its making is a distortion of the truth; it is one-sided and, to that extent, false. Its practical effect on human life is that such distortion encourages a false philosophy of history and of life. There are encouraging signs in the offing that professional historians, who too often have been willing to be merely secular historians, are rethinking the scope of their interest and field of labor.

The editors are also encouraged by the fact that the international reputation of the Magazine is growing. The library of the University of Helsinki, Finland, is a subscriber. Recently, *Die Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen*, Germany, purchased a back file of the Magazine, and it is of course a current subscriber. Any one who knows something about the history of Biblical criticism knows of the fame of the University of Tübingen. Eight leading prelates of the Eastern Orthodox Churches—Patriarchs and Metropolitans in Greece, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Russia—receive the Magazine through the courtesy of American friends. So also does the library of St. George's Cathedral in Jerusalem, and of Pusey House, Oxford; certain English prelates; and the Central Theological College, Tokyo, Japan. Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, and the Canadian Church Historical Society have as complete files as we could supply, and are regular subscribers, as is the Huron College Library, London, Ontario. Several Canadian and English churchmen hurdle the currency restrictions that they may receive every issue.

While all of this is gratifying, the editors have to struggle, in view of the increased cost of paper and printing, to keep the domestic price at \$4.00, and the foreign price at \$5.00, per year. This is no small feat, since the price is no more now than it was twenty-two years ago, and we have been publishing these last few years twice as many pages as was done at the beginning.

In this connection, we must acknowledge with deep gratitude the generosity and appreciation of certain clerical and lay friends, who have made substantial special gifts and subsidies. They feel, at any rate, that HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is a credit to the historical scholarship of the American Church, and we hope to continue to justify them in that feeling.

WALTER H. STOWE.

## In Historiography--Virginians to the Fore!

ONE of the gratifying marks of this generation in the field of historical and biographical scholarship is the contribution being made to it by four Virginians.

First of all is the work of the Rev. Dr. G. McLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia and senior associate editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Volumes I and II of his *Virginia's Mother Church* have been published, and the author is busily engaged on Volume III, which will conclude his *magnum opus*.

Former Presiding Bishop Henry St. George Tucker has brought out *Exploring the Silent Shore of Memory* (1951), which is, we trust, only the first of a two-volume autobiography. This first volume carries Bishop Tucker's life story through his early years, his ministry and episcopate in Japan, and up to his return to the United States. His second volume will cover his teaching years at the Virginia Theological Seminary, his diocesan episcopate in Virginia, and his primacy of the American Church. The two volumes will thus be valuable sources for both Japanese and American Church history.

The Rev. Dr. Robert S. Boshier, associate professor of ecclesiastical history in the General Theological Seminary, has written *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: The Influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951), which we reviewed editorially two years ago (March, 1952). Dr. Boshier now teaches American Church history, and has developed fine courses in the subject. Virginia claims him because he was born in Richmond, was graduated from the University of Virginia, which Virginians call "The University," and was ordered deacon by Bishop Tucker and priest by Bishop Goodwin.

The last of this illustrious "foursome" but by no means the least—history itself will take care of their rank in the art of historiography and biography—is the Rev. Julien Gunn, Jr., O. H. C. He also was born in Richmond, was graduated from the University of Richmond and the Virginia Theological Seminary, and like Dr. Boshier was ordained deacon and priest by Bishops Tucker and Goodwin respectively. Virginia claims him also, although what Bishop Meade would have said about one of his clergy becoming a monk and a "life professed" member of the Order of the Holy Cross (which in his time did not exist), we cannot say.

Anyone who knows much about Church history knows what the Church owes to the monastic orders in preserving civilization, and in being centers of learning—at times the only centers—during the Middle Ages.

Father Gunn has set for himself a task which has long needed doing—a definitive biography of John Henry Hobart, the greatest of New York bishops and one of the three greatest bishops of our American Church. The impress which Hobart made upon the Church can in some measure be gauged by the shock and the grief which his death at the age of fifty-five caused; and Bishop Croes' statement of it can be read below in this issue in the brief article, "The Election of Benjamin T. Onderdonk as Fourth Bishop of New York."

Father Gunn's researches are now so far along that in the providence of God we can expect its publication within two years or so. Bishop Hobart "sparked" the revival of the Church both in and out of New York State. Father Gunn's biography should give us considerable new light on that epochal episcopate, as well as upon the decade, 1800-1810, when Hobart as a priest was winning his spurs as a leader of the Church.

May many other churchmen be inspired to emulate in the field of Church history and biography the example of these eminent Virginians!


W. H. S.



# The Episcopate of Thomas Fielding Scott

First Missionary Bishop of Oregon and  
Washington, 1854-1867

By Thomas E. Jessett\*

HE Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church sent a resolution to the House of Bishops of the General Convention of 1853, meeting in New York City, urging the election of missionary bishops for California and Oregon.<sup>1</sup> California had two laymen present at the Convention to press its case, but they were not seated as deputies.<sup>2</sup> Episcopalians in Oregon had sent a resolution to the Presiding Bishop, Thomas Church Brownell, asking for a bishop.<sup>3</sup> It was, however, the House of Deputies which precipitated action in the matter by adopting on October 12th the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That the House of Bishops is hereby respectfully requested to nominate to this House, a suitable person to be elected [by the House of Deputies] Missionary Bishop of California.

2. *Resolved*, That the House of Bishops is hereby respectfully requested to nominate to this House a suitable person to be elected Missionary Bishop of Oregon.<sup>3-a</sup>

Although these resolutions were received by the House of Bishops on the same day, the latter took eight days to make up its mind. On

\*The author is historiographer of the diocese of Olympia, and vicar of The Highlands Parish, Seattle, Washington. *Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>*Proceedings of the Board of Missions of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1853, pp. 394, 438. Hereafter referred to as *Proceedings, Board of Missions*, with year.

<sup>2</sup>D. O. Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California from 1849 to 1914* (San Francisco, n. d.), p. 18.

<sup>3</sup>*Proceedings of a Meeting of Episcopalians held at Oregon City, O. T., August 2, 1853.*

<sup>3-a</sup>For the legislative procedure with reference to California and Oregon, see *General Convention Journal*, 1853, pp. 27, 30-31, 34, 37, 38-39, 50, 57-58, 99-100, 108-109, 170, 181, 187, 194, 216, 222. The quoted resolutions are on p. 58.

October 21st, the House of Bishops informed the House of Deputies that is had "nominated the Rev. Wm. I. Kip, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Albany, as Missionary Bishop of California"; and

"that is had nominated the Rev. Thomas F. Scott, Rector of Trinity Church, Columbus, Georgia, as Missionary Bishop of Oregon, having jurisdiction also in the Territory of Washington."

In spite of having initiated the nominations, opposition in the House of Deputies was strong enough to call not only for a vote by ballot instead of *viva voce*, but also by orders and dioceses, New York demanding the former and Massachusetts the latter.

The vote on Kip was as follows:

*Clerical.* 26 dioceses represented: ayes, 18; nays, 7; divided, 1.

*Lay.* 20 dioceses represented: ayes, 15; nays, 4; divided, 1.

The vote on Scott was as follows:

*Clerical.* 26 dioceses represented: ayes, 16; nays, 8; divided, 2.

*Lay.* 20 dioceses represented: ayes, 14; nays, 6.

Whether this opposition was personal against the nominees, or merely against the whole idea of sending missionary bishops to those areas, the record does not say. Kip and Scott were declared duly elected. Bishop Edward L. Parsons has elsewhere in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* ably expounded the personality and episcopate of William Ingraham Kip;<sup>3-b</sup> but who was Thomas Fielding Scott?

### Early Life and Ministry

Thomas Fielding Scott belongs to that large band of converts to whom the American Episcopal Church owes an incalculable debt. He was born on March 12, 1807, in Iredell County, North Carolina. Available records do not tell us the names of his parents or the circumstances of his home life. Presumably, he was reared a Presbyterian. He was educated at Chapel Hill School, North Carolina, and in 1829 he was graduated with honors from Franklin College, now the University of Georgia, Athens. In 1830, he married Evelyn Appleby of Jackson, Georgia, who survived him.

Scott began his ministerial career as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Hall and Franklin Counties, Georgia. Later he

<sup>3-b</sup>See E. L. Parsons, "William Ingraham Kip, First Bishop of California," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI (1942), 103-125.

had more important charges at La Grange and Savannah, Georgia. His removal to Columbia, Tennessee, about 1840 was the turning point in his career. This was the home of Leonidas Polk, then first missionary bishop of the Southwest and soon to be the first bishop of Louisiana. James Hervey Otey was the bishop of Tennessee. These two able men—both converts to the Church—became Scott's friends, and under their inspiration he "made thorough study of the Scriptural and historical claims of Episcopacy," came to "the firm and unalterable conclusion that the doctrine was true," and regretfully abandoned Presbyterianism.<sup>3-c</sup>

Just why, in view of their friendship, Scott was not ordained by either Otey or Polk is not clear. Since Scott was possessed of independent means, a cure with an adequate stipend, of which there were very few in either Tennessee or the Southwest, was not so essential to him as it was to the average ordinand. On March 12, 1843, his thirty-sixth birthday, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Stephen Elliott, Jr., in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia, and on February 24, 1844, priest, by the same bishop in Christ Church, Macon.

Immediately upon ordination, Scott became rector of St. James' Church, Marietta, Georgia, and in 1850 rector of Trinity Church, Columbus. He served as secretary of the diocesan convention, 1845-1853, and was a deputy from Georgia to the General Conventions of 1850 and 1853.

### Consecration and Beginnings of His Episcopate

The General Convention *Journal*, 1853, reproduces the certificate of consecration of every American bishop, beginning with Seabury as No. 1, and ending with Scott as No. 60. He was consecrated on January 8, 1854, in Christ Church, Savannah. Bishop Elliott was the consecrator; Bishops Nicholas H. Cobbs of Alabama and Thomas F. Davis of South Carolina were the co-consecrators.<sup>3-d</sup>

At the time of his consecration, Scott was nearing his forty-seventh birthday. He was over six feet tall, and weighed some two hundred and fifty pounds. Although not a narrow partisan in churchmanship (he always referred to his position as "conservative and catholic"), he was strongly convinced of the Anglican position. A good scholar and

<sup>3-c</sup>The available sources for Scott's early life are exceedingly scanty. For most of the above we are indebted to James W. Fawcett, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 501-502. For his sources, see below, Note #126.

<sup>3-d</sup>See *General Convention Journal*, 1853, Appendix L, pp. 373-403.

an excellent preacher, he enjoyed a theological discussion, and was regarded as a leader by lay people both within and without the Church.<sup>4</sup>

Travelling by way of the isthmus of Panama, Bishop and Mrs. Scott reached Portland, Oregon, on Saturday, April 22, 1854. They were met at the dock by the Rev. John D. McCarty, D. D., one of the two clergymen in his vast new jurisdiction of over 250,000 square miles.<sup>4-a</sup>

McCarty had arrived the previous year, and was in charge of Trinity Church, Portland, and chaplain to the Fourth United States Infantry, stationed at Fort Vancouver. He was fifty-six years of age, and a high churchman of the Hobartian school. He possessed a fine sense of missionary strategy, and got along well with people of all denominations in the pioneer communities.<sup>5</sup> On Sunday, April 23, the bishop and McCarty officiated together in Trinity Church, Portland.

The bishop next visited the field of his other clergyman, the Rev. St. Michael Fackler, who lived on a claim near Butteville, Oregon. Fackler, who had been in Oregon since the fall of 1847, was about forty years of age at this time. A graduate of the Theological Seminary in Virginia, Fackler was an evangelical or low churchman, but of sufficient intensity to be regarded by the early Methodists, with whom he had considerable association, as "an exclusive churchman." He had a host of friends among all denominations, was of a saintly character, and was described some years later as "the most active and efficient Episcopal clergyman in the country." His wife had died recently, leaving him with the care of an infant daughter.<sup>6</sup>

The Bishop and Fackler held services together on one Sunday at Oregon City, and one at Champoege and Butteville, at which place he [Fackler] statedly officiates; and one at Salem, where the same brother kindly united with me in the services of the day. The week days not spent in journeying were employed in forming acquaintances and making inquiry as to the probable means of organizing congregations and building churches.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>William Stevens Perry, *The Episcopate in America* (New York, 1895), p. 129; Peter Edward Hyland, "Recollections", *St. Mark's Rubric* (Seattle), XIII, 10-12; H. W. Scott, *History of Portland, Oregon*, (Syracuse, N. Y., 1890) p. 353.

<sup>4-a</sup>For McCarty and Fackler, see Thomas E. Jessett, "Early Missionaries in the Pacific Northwest," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVII (1948), 106-127.

<sup>5</sup>*Oregon Native Son*, I, 609-610; Charles Prosch, *Reminiscences of Washington Territory* (Seattle, 1904), p. 96.

<sup>6</sup>*Oregon Native Son*, I, 610; Gustavus Hines, *Oregon and Its Institutions, comprising a full History of Willamette University* (New York, 1868), p. 227; *Spirit of Missions* (New York), 1851, p. 406.

<sup>7</sup>*Proceedings of the Second Annual Convocation of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Oregon and Washington Territories, June 17, 1854*, p. 4. Hereafter referred to as *Proceedings, O. & W.*, with year.

The bishop next proceeded with McCarty to Puget Sound, where he held morning and afternoon services at Olympia in the hall of the House of Representatives on Sunday, May 28.<sup>8</sup> McCarty officiated that same day at Steilacoom. The following Sunday the two held services at Fort Steilacoom, in the village and at Nisqually. On the return trip to Portland, services were held at Jackson's and at Cowlitz Landing on week days. Wrote the bishop, "of the fatigues and difficulties of this trip I will say nothing." Apparently Washington's primitive means of transportation—by boat or canoe up the Cowlitz, and probably horseback the rest of the way over a poor sort of road little better than a trail—had wearied the newcomer to the West, who weighed two hundred and fifty pounds. The bishop then visited Milwaukie and Vancouver.<sup>9</sup>

Early in May, the bishop issued a call through the newspapers to all members of the Episcopal Church in Oregon and Washington to communicate with him regarding their places of residence and numbers so that he could arrange to visit them. He also called upon such as could do so to attend "an adjourned meeting of last August to meet in Portland 17 June next."<sup>10</sup>

On the day appointed, the convocation assembled in the schoolhouse, with the bishop presiding and Fackler reading morning prayer. McCarty and eight laymen were also present. Five were from Portland, two from Oregon City, and one from Champoege. These represented the three organized groups worshipping at Butteville, Vancouver and Salem. The only Church property was an unfinished building at Milwaukie where the congregation, known as St. John's, seems to have been temporarily disorganized. The membership of the Church contained many of the political, professional and financial leaders in the infant communities of the area, but they were few in number.<sup>11</sup> Even by 1860 there was not more than one communicant of the Episcopal Church for every 600 persons in the Pacific Northwest.

Scott, as bishop of Oregon and Washington Territories, had jurisdiction not only over the area covered by these two states today, but also over the present state of Idaho and portions of western Montana and western Wyoming, which were in those days included in Washington and Oregon. During his entire episcopate, Scott was responsible for this vast area, in spite of his requests to the General Convention of

<sup>8</sup>*Pioneer and Democrat* (Olympia), May 27, 1854.

<sup>9</sup>*Proceedings, Second Convocation, O.&W.*, 1854, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>*Oregonian* (Portland), May 6, 1854; *Oregon Statesman* (Salem), May 14, 1854.

<sup>11</sup>*Proceedings of a Meeting of Episcopalians held at Oregon City, O. T., August 2, 1853*, pp. 1-28, passim.

1859—when Oregon became a state—and in 1865—after Idaho was made a separate territory—to reduce its size. As will be shown later, no relief was accorded him until in 1865 Idaho, Montana and Wyoming were attached to Colorado under the Right Rev. George Maxwell Randall.<sup>12</sup> Having only three clergymen for this large territory, Randall refused to accept responsibility for Idaho, and it was not until May 1867, just before Scott departed from Oregon, that it was joined with Montana and Utah in a separate district under the Right Rev. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle.<sup>13</sup> But this was too late to help Scott.

Undoubtedly Scott came prepared to face the horrors of Indian disturbances, the difficulties of increased immigration, and the excitement of gold rushes. But of the two great problems of his administration, one, the Civil War, could not have been foreseen; and the other, the unwillingness of clergy to offer themselves for labor in this far Western field, he had already experienced when he set sail from New York, February 20, 1854, for he said then, "I found no clergyman to accompany me to this field of labor. I go alone."<sup>14</sup>

The Board of Missions, in spite of internal quarrels over churchmanship and the operation for a time of partisan missionary groups, was always quite willing to pay the salaries of additional clergymen for Scott's field, if volunteers could be secured. During the last year of his episcopate, the children of the Church were organized by the Missionary Society into two "Missionary Regiments," one of which was named for him.<sup>15</sup> Scott received a salary from the Board of Missions, as did Fackler, but he also was a man of independent means. McCarty, after October 1854, was paid as a chaplain of the United States Army.

In his address to the ten persons present at his first convocation, Scott said, "it falls to our lot to lay the foundations of our Church in these Territories," and he and the two presbyters present, Fackler and McCarty, were to serve together in complete harmony for most of the thirteen years of his episcopate. The bishop also stressed the fact that his aims were "to strive at the earliest possible moment for settled Pastors"; "to depend, under God, upon our own resources"; and to "build neat and suitable churches where we and our children may regularly assemble for worship and instruction."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup>*Journal, General Convention, 1865*, pp. 200, 323-325, 447.

<sup>13</sup>William Wilson Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1950), p. 262.

<sup>14</sup>*Oregon Churchman* (Portland), November, 1871.

<sup>15</sup>*Spirit of Missions, 1867, 1868*, passim.

<sup>16</sup>*Proceedings, Second Convocation, O.&W., 1854*, pp. 7-9.



These aims reveal the limitations of the missionary strategy of Scott and the Board of Missions. Settled pastors require a population able to support them, and on the frontier, with its scattered communities, a more mobile ministry is called for. Scott recognized this in his later years, and so did the Board of Missions in 1865, when Scott asked for and received an appropriation to underwrite two missionary tours.<sup>17</sup> But the missionaries so sent out soon settled down in the largest communities. The goal was always a settled ministry.

Missionary support was regarded by Scott and the Board as a temporary expedient to be terminated as soon as possible. The idea of investing in manpower to develop an area does not appear. The goal was always self-support as soon as it was feasible by the local congregation.

The building of churches was regarded as a responsibility of the local unit. In smaller communities this meant either a crude building or a long delay. To overcome these limitations, Scott made trips East to raise funds for churches, and also built and equipped two—St. Stephen's, Portland, and St. Paul's, Oregon City—largely at his own expense.<sup>18</sup>

Obviously the Episcopal Church was handicapping itself in the missionary field compared to other denominations such as the Methodist, Roman Catholic and others, who poured funds for buildings, equipment and manpower into these pioneer areas.

The first move for Scott and his two presbyters was to place themselves strategically for maximum efficiency in the area. The bulk of the population at this time was located in the Willamette Valley, on the lower Columbia, and on Puget Sound. In these areas the Methodist Church was well established, with a goodly supply of preachers, churches and schools. The Roman Catholics were also well established, with a number of priests and sisters at work. The latter were the only group doing any work of consequence among the Indians. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists, started initially by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, were organizing congregations and building churches, and the Baptists were getting started.<sup>19</sup> With the instruction given to the Rev. William Richmond, the first missionary sent out by the Board of Missions, to defer the case of the Indians still in effect apparently, there was no recourse for Scott but to compete in the infant white communities rising in these more settled areas.

<sup>17</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1864, pp. 99-100; *Journal, General Convention*, 1865, p. 306.

<sup>18</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1861, pp. 111, 350; 1865, pp. 11-15.

<sup>19</sup>Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest* (New York, 1950), pp. 115-120.



Fackler, living on his claim at Butteville and already well acquainted in the area, was the logical choice to have charge of the Willamette valley. He held stated services at Oregon City, Champoege, Butteville and Salem;<sup>20</sup> and opened new work at Eugene City where the proprietor, Eugene Skinner, gave the bishop an acre of ground for a church.<sup>21</sup> At Salem, St. Paul's Church was consecrated by the bishop, April 22, 1855. Scott aided Fackler greatly the first year, taking fifteen services at Oregon City and ten at Salem, as well as visiting all the other points.<sup>22</sup>

McCarthy became a full-time chaplain, dropping his connection with the Board of Missions in October 1854, when he was transferred to Fort Steilacoom on Puget Sound. With his indefatigable interest in missionary work, he began Episcopal services in the village three Sundays a month in the Methodist church.<sup>23</sup> On the first Sunday of every month, he went to Olympia, where he held services at eleven in the morning and three in the afternoon in the hall of the House of Representatives or in a schoolhouse.<sup>24</sup>

McCarthy made a visit to Seattle in 1855, but did not find a single Episcopalian among the seventy inhabitants. He conducted services morning and evening, Sunday, July 15, in the Methodist church. On the whole, he found the "population about the Sound . . . small, and very sparse, and, I regret to say, the irreligious and worldly influences are most distressingly rife . . ."<sup>25</sup>

At this time there were no roads in Washington, just trails, and upon one occasion on a winter night, riding between Steilacoom and Olympia, he got lost in the forest. Unable to proceed farther, he "found a prostrate log into which an old fire had burned a cavity large enough to accomodate his entire person. Into this he crawled and slept until daylight. When he emerged from his couch he resembled a member of the burnt cork fraternity."<sup>26</sup> The next morning, "almost perishing with exposure," he stumbled to the door of Catherine Maria Wood of Olympia, a communicant of the Church, who took him in and ministered to him.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*Journal, General Convention, 1856*, pp. 281-282.

<sup>21</sup>Irene D. Williams, *Reminiscences of Early Eugene and Lane County, Oregon* (Eugene 1941), p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>*Proceedings, Third Convocation, O.&W., 1855*.

<sup>23</sup>*Puget Sound Courier* (Steilacoom), May 19 to Oct. 12, 1855.

<sup>24</sup>Thomas E. Jessett, *St. John's Church of Olympia*, pp. 14-15. Hereafter referred to as Jessett, *Olympia*.

<sup>25</sup>*Proceedings, Third Convocation, O.&W., 1855*.

<sup>26</sup>Charles Prosch, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>27</sup>*Columbia Churchman* (Vancouver, Wash.), August, 1884.

He found the population on the Sound decreasing, due to gold discoveries in the eastern part of the territory, and Olympia was the only flourishing community. Here he hoped a church might be built and a resident missionary stationed.<sup>28</sup>

While on Puget Sound, McCarty officiated at one baptism and one burial at Steilacoom, and at two baptisms, one marriage and one burial at Olympia. He left for a visit to the Atlantic Coast in November 1855.<sup>29</sup> The bishop did not visit Puget Sound during the time McCarty was there, because of the unsettled conditions due to Indian unrest.<sup>30</sup>

The bishop made his headquarters in Portland, where he assumed charge of Trinity Church, which he consecrated, September 24, 1854. He also assumed pastoral care of St. John's Church, Milwaukie, which he consecrated, February 18, 1855. In addition he made visits to Cathlamet, Astoria, St. Helen's and Milton.<sup>31</sup>

At Cathlamet, Scott performed his first episcopal act when on Sunday July 20, 1854, he administered the rite of confirmation to eight persons—the first time this service had been seen in the Pacific Northwest. The honor of being the first Episcopalian confirmed in this jurisdiction fell to Mrs. James Birnie, *née* Charlotte Beaulieu. Of the other seven, four were her children and two her grandchildren. Her husband had been confirmed years before in Scotland by the same Bishop John Skinner who took part in the consecration of Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, the first American bishop.<sup>32</sup>

Again at Cathlamet in May 1855, Scott took part in a gala celebration, when two weddings took place in the Birnie family. The local settlers, Indians from near and far, among whom Mrs. Birnie, part-Indian herself, exercised considerable influence, and Hudson's Bay Company employees from Cowlitz farms, made a colorful gathering to which Scott in his episcopal vestments added a somber touch. On the 7th, he united James Birnie, Jr., and Julia A. Stilwell in holy matrimony, and on the following day, Rose Birnie, sister of James Birnie, Sr., and a comparative newcomer from Scotland, and George B. Roberts of Cowlitz Farms were similarly joined.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1856, p. 20; *Proceedings, Third Convocation, O.&W.*, 1855.

<sup>29</sup>Parish Register I, St. Luke's Church, Vancouver, Wash.

<sup>30</sup>*Proceedings, Third Convocation, O.&W.*, 1855.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>Thomas Nelson Strong, *Cathlamet on the Columbia* (Portland, 1906) p. 75.

### Clerical Reinforcements

These three faithful laborers—Scott, Fackler and McCarty—received the first of much-needed and prayed-for reinforcements on December 1, 1855, with the arrival of the Rev. Johnston McCormac. He went to live at Oswego, where the bishop had bought property with buildings on it for a school. Here he and James L. Daly, formerly the school teacher at Champog, studied under the direction of Scott and Fackler. McCormac took services at Oregon City and Milwaukie, while Daly assisted the bishop in and around Portland. Daly was ordered a deacon by the bishop on May 18, 1856, in Trinity Church, Portland,<sup>34</sup>—the first ordination according to the Book of Common Prayer in the Pacific Northwest.

The very month of Daly's ordination saw the arrival of additional reinforcements in the persons of the Rev. John Sellwood and his brother, the Rev. James R. W. Sellwood, a deacon. Unfortunately, the Sellwood party, for there were other members of the family with them, was attacked by robbers while crossing the isthmus of Panama, and John was so seriously injured that he never fully recovered. The Sellwoods were English by birth, but had emigrated to South Carolina. James R. W. Sellwood was married and had two sons; John was a bachelor. They were evangelical in churchmanship. After their decision to go to Oregon, John was accepted and supported by the Board of Missions while James was supported by churches in South Carolina. James R. W. Sellwood was assigned to Salem where he, being a deacon, worked under Fackler's supervision. John Sellwood settled in Portland, where he assisted the bishop as he was able.<sup>35</sup>

McCarty returned from the East Coast in April 1856, bringing with him a wife. They settled down in the fort and proceeded to raise a family. McCarty at this time started services in the village of Vancouver in an abandoned schoolhouse, which was bought at public auction later and converted into a church. Scott consecrated it as St. Luke's Church on May 27, 1860.<sup>36</sup> At this time there was considerable tension due to difficulties with the Indians, and both federal troops and state militia were on the alert. This caused McCarty additional duties, including

<sup>34</sup>*Proceedings, Fourth Convocation, O.&W., 1856, passim.*

<sup>35</sup>William H. Stoy, *A Sermon in Memoriam of Rev. John Sellwood, B. D.* (Portland, Oregon, 1892); *Proceedings, Fourth Convocation, O.&W., 1856; Spirit of Missions, 1856*, pp. 311-312.

<sup>36</sup>Elizabeth Crawford Yates, MS, *History of St. Luke's Church, Vancouver, Wash.; Spirit of Missions, 1860*, p. 12; *Proceedings, Eighth Convocation, O.&W., 1860.*

several trips to the Cascades and burial of a number of volunteers who died of injury or disease.<sup>37</sup> There was no interference with the services of the Church.

During the late 1850's, Scott established a pattern for his episcopal visitations, which he followed with but slight variation throughout his entire stay in the Pacific Northwest. He once described his life as being

continually on the tramp—calling occasionally to spend a few days with my wife—northward to Vancouver's Island, and southward nearly to the head of the Willamette Valley; eastward to the Dalles, and westward to the Pacific.<sup>38</sup>

### First Report to the General Convention—1856

Bishop Scott's first report, dated October 6, 1856, was presented in person to the General Convention which met that year in Philadelphia<sup>38-a</sup>. Since it sets forth not only his summary of the state of the Church in his jurisdiction, but also his views of the missionary strategy to be employed, it deserves careful attention.

He begins by referring to his election as missionary bishop three years before, and states

"After mature reflection, that appointment would have been declined, but for the fact that three years must elapse before another could be appointed. This reluctance did not grow out of any unwillingness to undergo the privations and toils incident to such a life . . . but it was a solemn conviction that the Episcopal office is a work of fearful responsibility, and a conscious want of those higher qualifications of both understanding and heart, which make that office a blessing to the Church of God. Nevertheless I determined to go at your bidding. . ."

When he reached the field,

"I found that but little had been done towards the organized work of the Church. This was not the fault of those who had labored as Missionaries. So few in number, and so widely dispersed as their labors necessarily were, and with no houses of worship of their own, the result could scarcely have been otherwise. Added to all was the unsettled state of things which always pertains to a new country."

<sup>37</sup>Parish Register I, St. Luke's Church, Vancouver, Wash.

<sup>38</sup>*Oregon Churchman*, February, 1872.

<sup>38-a</sup>*Journal, General Convention, 1856*, pp. 281-283.

His visits during the summer and fall of 1854 to various parts of Oregon and Washington gave him a "general knowledge of the country, and of the spiritual condition and wants of its people."

"During the first year, we were enabled to build and consecrate three churches, viz.: Trinity Church, Portland; St. John's Church, Milwaukie; and St. Paul's Church, Salem; and I doubt not we could have added two to the list during the second year, had there been ministers to occupy them."

The bishop then details the activities of the missionaries. Whereas, when he arrived two and one-half years before, there were but two priests in the field, "we have now six clergymen on the ground—three Presbyters and three Deacons."

A dream which Scott shared with other missionary bishops in his century, namely, of producing in his own field a goodly number of clergy to man the Church's posts, was to prove illusory:

"In addition to this immediate labor for our Mission, we have also secured a very desirable improvement at Oswego, for a boys' school, which is already in operation. It is under the charge of Mr. Bernard Cornelius, who is now a Candidate for Orders. To this school we look, as a means of raising up men for our ministry."

The mission had suffered much "from the ravages of an Indian war upon our borders . . . especially severe in the southern part of Oregon and northern part of Washington," which had extended "its evil influences over the entire country. In addition to the sad consequences on the spot, it has prevented immigration to the country, and sent away many who were already there."

"The present population of Oregon is probably about fifty thousand, and that of Washington less than ten thousand. This population is scattered over the country lying west of the Cascade Mountains. With a climate, soil, and scenery so inviting, we may expect a much larger number of permanent inhabitants at no distant day. It is very desirable, therefore, that we should be able to occupy many other points at an early day, and to keep pace with the growth of the country. It is probable, however, that ours will long be mainly a Missionary work, to be sustained by the contributions and prayers of the Church. There are some half dozen places, at least, where Missionaries could be stationed, with good promise of success in building up permanent congregations,—especially in the Rogue River and Umpqua Valleys, in the upper part of the Willamette Valley, in Yamhill and Washington counties, on the lower Columbia, and on Puget's Sound."

There is plenty of evidence that Scott was determined to lay strong and, as far as possible, enduring foundations, and he successfully resisted the temptation to make a "flashy" showing.

"But little has been done towards the formal organization of parishes, as I have deemed it best to defer that measure until a sufficient number of persons may be collected, hopefully pious and attached to the Church, to make such organizations permanent and valuable. I have confirmed but eighteen persons in the Mission, although the number might have been increased, if we had placed the standard of qualifications much lower."

Nor did he succumb to the temptation of being "sour" because more was not being done for the mission by the Church back East. On the contrary, he emulated the Pauline pattern of gratitude:

"I desire also to record my thankfulness for the kindly interest and ready assistance extended towards the Mission, by our friends in the States—not only in the support of the missionaries who have gone thither, but in our church building and in the commencement of our school. I trust this labor of love will yield the fruits of righteousness in time to come, to the glory of God, and the rejoicing of our benefactors."

For the coming triennium he set for himself an increasing measure of what is the most arduous part of the task of a pioneer missionary bishop:

"Should I be spared to return to my field of labor, I hope to devote myself much more to the work of an itinerant, as I originally intended. Scattered as our population is, much time is spent in travelling, and comparatively small congregations, after all, can be collected; and yet is incumbent upon us to 'sow beside all waters.' Other religious bodies are engaged in the same cause, to a greater or less extent; but yet there are very many waste places. The character and condition of our population does not differ materially from those of all our new settlements; while from our distance and isolation, we can derive but little from our intercourse with the States."

Bishop Scott ends his first report to the General Convention on a high note:

"Brethren, pray for us, that the Gospel may have free course among us. There is yet a wide wilderness between us and you. Help us to plant ourselves firmly on the Pacific Coast, and we will endeavor to meet you as you descend our great Western slope, and rejoice with you while we behold the wilderness and solitary places blossoming as the rose."



## The Second Triennium of His Episcopate

While on Puget Sound, Scott often visited Victoria, on Vancouver Island, the first time being in June 1857, at the request of the bishop of London, who had jurisdiction over this distant British colony. He spent two Sundays at Christ Church, where he officiated on the Sundays as well as on the intervening days. The Rev. Edward Cridge, the only Anglican clergyman in the colony, presented nineteen persons to Scott for confirmation on the second Sunday.<sup>39</sup> This was the first confirmation service in what is now the Province of British Columbia.

On his return trip, Scott officiated at Nisqually, Olympia and Cowlitz Landing.<sup>40</sup> The new military road between Puget Sound and Cowlitz Landing was constructed this year, and may have made travelling a little easier. From Cowlitz Landing to Monticello, travel was still by Indian canoe, as this portion of the projected road to Vancouver was not yet finished. From Monticello to Portland, travel was by river steamer. The fare from Portland to Olympia was \$20, with baggage at seven cents a pound, so that the average trip generally cost not less than \$30. This road was poorly kept up in its early years, and complaints were numerous during all of Scott's episcopate.<sup>41</sup> For most of his territory, Scott was able to use river steamers, a much more comfortable mode of travel.

While at Victoria, Scott met the Rev. D. E. Domville, chaplain of H. M. Steam Corvette *Satellite*, which ship conveyed him back to Olympia. Chaplain Domville visited Portland in August of that same year, and took part in the ordination of Johnston McCormac to the priesthood in Trinity Church on August 2.<sup>42</sup> This was the first ordination to the priesthood according to the Book of Common Prayer in the Pacific Northwest. After his ordination, McCormac was placed at Eugene City, where he built St. Mary's Church, which was consecrated January 23, 1859.<sup>43</sup>

Daly, McCormac's fellow-student, moved to Portland at this time. He had decided to enter upon a business career, but continued as a

<sup>39</sup>*Proceedings, Fifth Convocation, O.&W., 1857*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>Thomas W. Posch, "The Military Roads of Washington Territory," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, II, 118-126.

<sup>42</sup>*Proceedings, Sixth Convocation, O.&W., 1858*, pp. 3-11.

<sup>43</sup>Irene D. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 27; *Spirit of Missions, 1860*, p. 12.



deacon, holding services on West Tuelatin Plains for the Church of England families formerly at the Red River Settlement.<sup>44</sup>

At this time, the bishop reported regular services at the penitentiary in Portland, with either himself or John Sellwood officiating. Each cell was furnished with a Bible and Prayer Book "and the readiness with which the inmates unite in the service, and look over the lesson, shows that these books have been extensively read."<sup>45</sup>

Additional gold discoveries in northwestern Washington and southern British Columbia, from 1858 on, brought many thousands to the Pacific Northwest. McCarty, ever alert to new opportunities, and in the performance of his military duties, went eastward to Walla Walla in June 1859, holding services and baptizing three children. The next month he was on Puget Sound, where he officiated at Port Townsend, Steilacoom and Olympia. In these two trips he travelled about 1,300 miles, baptized thirteen children, and conducted one burial besides the regular services.<sup>46</sup> Scott the year previously had gone south to the Rogue River and Ompqua valleys in Oregon, where he held services at Jacksonville and Roseburg.<sup>47</sup>

The admission of Oregon to statehood in February, 1859, apparently inspired the committee on the state of the Church at the annual convocation that June to sum up the labors of the missionaries to date. They reported that the total response had been 103 baptisms, 75 marriages, 76 burials and 50 confirmations. There were 79 communicants reported from the eight places where services were held regularly. No financial figures for parochial or clergy support were prepared.<sup>48</sup>

## Second Report to the General Convention and New Recruits for the Field

The General Convention of 1859 met in Richmond, Virginia, and to it Bishop Scott made his second report, dated October 7th, in person

<sup>44</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1858, p. 603; *Proceedings, Sixth Convocation, O.&W.*, 1858; *ibid.*, 1859.

These settlers were brought out by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1841. They were first sent to Nisqually and Cowlitz Farms. Within two years, all had left the Company's employ and were settled south of the Columbia.—W. Kaye Lamb, "Introduction," *The Letters of John McLoughlin, Third Series, 1844-46*, (Toronto 1941), p. xxv.

<sup>45</sup>*Proceedings, Sixth Convocation, O.&W.*, 1858.

<sup>46</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1860, pp. 12-13; Parish Register I, St. Luke's Church, Vancouver, Wash.

<sup>47</sup>*Proceedings, Sixth Convocation, O.&W.*, 1858.

<sup>48</sup>*Proceedings, Seventh Convocation, O.&W.*, 1859, pp. 20-21.

—the last General Convention he was destined to attend.<sup>40</sup> Running through it is the overtone of desperate need of more clergy.

"No addition has been made to the number of our Clergy during the past three years," but "at the several places where we have stated services, the prospects are decidedly promising. All things considered, the number of Baptisms and Confirmations has been encouraging," especially the number of adults.

"Not only is the sphere of our labors gradually enlarging, but it is safe to say that as the Church becomes known, and its services understood, the way is being prepared for larger accessions to our numbers and greater permanency in all our institutions. Nor must I fail to add, as an additional ground of encouragement towards this permanent growth, that it is built upon the faithful preaching of the Gospel . . .

"Some of my visitations, embracing several days of visiting and service, have been peculiarly refreshing, as seasons of deep spiritual interest. We have also distributed and put into use a large number of Prayer Books, Tracts, and other religious books."

The crux of his major difficulty and his hope of a future solution of it are thus expressed:

"We greatly need some additional laborers to occupy several points, as centres of Missionary effort. As a means of aiding to furnish them on the ground, and to supply the many others who are to be workers together with them, we are anxious to add to our Diocesan School a department for training young men for the ministry. With this instrumentality, we might hope, by-and-by, to furnish our own laborers."

The Episcopal Church from colonial times to the present has never had enough clergymen properly to discharge its responsibilities and to take advantage of its opportunities. This was especially true during the 19th century, which was the period of its great expansion. During the decade 1821-30, 310 were made deacons. In the great decade, 1831-40, this number was more than doubled to a total of 653—a net increase of 110.6 per cent. But during the ensuing decades of the 19th century, this rate of increase was never approached. In the two decades during which Scott was a missionary bishop, the record was as follows: 867 were ordered deacons during the decade, 1851-60—an increase of only 14.5 per cent over the preceding ten years; and during the decade 1861-70, which included the war years, the total rose to 1,113 or a net

<sup>40</sup>*Journal, General Convention, 1859*, pp. 336-338.

increase of 28.2 per cent over the pre-war decade. But this was not enough.<sup>49-a</sup>

Back in the year 1838, the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions prepared a "Retrospect of the Last Three Years," and a prognostication of the future.<sup>49-b</sup> The Church in 1838 had 1,000 clergy; it needed 3,300. In 1860, it would need 6,400 clergy; when 1860 arrived, it had but a third of that number—2,156. The committee believed that in 1860 the Mississippi Valley alone would require 3,600 clergymen; this was almost 1,500 more pastors than the Church had throughout the United States.

This prognostication made no allowance for the Pacific Coast, whose "manifest destiny" as a part of the United States was not so apparent in 1838. Moreover, the Church in the older dioceses was expanding, and the increasing number of congregations required more and more clergy.

Thus Scott and all other missionary bishops were up against a problem which has not yet (1953) been solved.

Scott's reports impress the reader as coming from a man of genuine modesty and real humility. He seldom refers to his own hardships, and never capitalizes on them. But he was now fifty-two years old, and they were beginning to tell on his physique. His jurisdiction was much too large for one bishop to oversee, and one has the feeling that he reluctantly refers to his hardships at the end of this report only because such reference is necessary to sustain his plea for a reduction in the size of his field.

"I am painfully conscious that the results of my ministry, so far as they can be put in figures, are not flattering. You will judge for yourselves how far they are otherwise as beginnings, as foundations, as sowings from which more abundant reapings may be hereafter gathered. The amount of travel necessarily

<sup>49-a</sup>The following ORDINATION RECORD OF DEACONS BY DECADES is compiled from Burgess' *List of Deacons*, Downing's *List . . .*, and Duncan's *List . . .*

Total Number of Deacons Ordained in Each Decade	Per Cent Increase Over Preceding Decade
1821-30: 310 .....	—
1831-40: 653 .....	110.6%
1841-50: 756 .....	15.7
1851-60: 867 .....	14.5
1861-70: 1,113 .....	28.2
1871-80: 1,273 .....	14.3
1881-90: 1,342 .....	5.4

<sup>49-b</sup>*Proceedings of the Board of Missions* (New York, 1838), pp. 53-54.

involved is, I confess, a weariness to the flesh. Those who can speedily visit every part of their Dioceses, holding services several times a day, can form little idea of the loss of time involved in journeying for days together in order to hold one service. This suggests the propriety of taking measures, at the earliest practicable period, to place a portion of the Territory now under my jurisdiction, under that of another appointed to that purpose. This would not only give to Washington Territory a more efficient Episcopal supervision, but enable me to devote my own time to much better purpose in the State of Oregon."

But this was not to be done until thirteen years after Scott was dead!

Taking advantage of his opportunity while in the East, Scott determined to do something about his most pressing need—additional clergymen. He paid a visit to the General Theological Seminary in New York, where he appealed for volunteers for his far distant field. Four men responded: D. Ellis Wills, W. F. B. Jackson, and Peter E. Hyland, priests; and Thomas A. Hyland, brother of Peter and a deacon. Scott also secured the services of the Rev. Carlton P. Maples as rector of Trinity Church, Portland, which had been incorporated and had assumed complete self-support, and thus became the first completely organized parish of the Episcopal Church in the Pacific Northwest.<sup>50</sup>

Scott's heart must have been very happy as he set sail from the Atlantic coast with four new clergymen for his jurisdiction. Peter E. Hyland was to come later. While at San Francisco, Jackson coaxed the bishop to let him make a stopover, and consequently he was lost to Oregon. But this was at least partially compensated for when Scott discovered that the Rev. Daniel Kendig, the new military chaplain at Fort Steilacoom, who had arrived during his absence, was a priest of the Church. Scott and his three new clergymen reached Portland in May 1860.<sup>51</sup>

As far back as 1851, Fackler had advised Richmond to write to the Missionary Society, urging that a clergyman be sent to the Umpqua valley in southern Oregon. To this long neglected field Scott now took the new deacon, the Rev. Thomas A. Hyland. While there the bishop baptized and confirmed; secured a lot, the gift of A. Rose; and made arrangements to raise funds for a building.<sup>52</sup> Hyland went to work with a will, and on December 2, 1860, the bishop consecrated St. George's

<sup>50</sup>Peter E. Hyland, "Recollections," *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>51</sup>*Proceedings, Eighth Convocation, O.&W.*, 1860, pp. 5-7.

<sup>52</sup>*Proceedings, Eighth Convocation, O.&W.*, 1860, p. 6; *Spirit of Missions*, 1861, p. 350; *Oregon Churchman*, October, 1861.

Church at Roseburg. Hyland was advanced to the priesthood on April 8, 1861, in St. Mary's Church, Eugene. Unfortunately for this rapidly-blossoming field, he left Roseburg for California in September, 1861.<sup>53</sup>

Back in 1853 McCarty had suggested a clergyman for Puget Sound, and to this field the bishop sent the Rev. D. Ellis Willis, with headquarters at Olympia. For several Sundays Willis officiated in the Methodist church by kind permission of the minister, and then moved to "St. John's Chapel," which was the lower floor of the Masonic Temple. He organized the women of the Church into "The Sewing Society," which under its present name of St. John's Guild, is one of the oldest women's organizations in the state of Washington.<sup>54</sup>

In August, Willis visited Port Townsend and baptized three infants. He was there again in September, returning from a visit to Victoria, at which time he baptized four more infants and held daily services in the courthouse for a week.<sup>55</sup> His visits stirred up great enthusiasm, and several meetings of citizens were held to obtain subscriptions for the building of a church. On the last Tuesday in September, a vestry was elected with Paul H. Hubbs as senior warden and John F. Damon as junior warden. The congregation adopted the name of St. Paul's. The local newspaper reported:

[Sunday, September 30, 1860]witnessed the first public recognition of the commandment—"Remember the Sabbath Day and keep it holy," in Port Townsend. Wearied with waiting, the people of Port Townsend have determined to submit to this neglect [of their appeals to missionary boards in the East] no longer; and accordingly, deeming the services of the Protestant Episcopal Church least objectionable to the whole, and very much better than no form of service, cast aside denominational tenets, and . . . join their voice in the ritual of one Church. Notwithstanding the inclement weather, the service was well attended last Sabbath, in the morning and evening. The morning service was conducted by the Junior Warden, and in the evening, Maj. Goldsborough from the station officiated. Services will be holden twice, every Sabbath for the present in the Court House. The Sabbath School will meet at the same place immediately after the morning service.<sup>56</sup>

In the latter part of October, Scott and Willis visited the Right Rev. George Hills, D. D., newly-arrived bishop of British Columbia.

<sup>53</sup>*Proceedings, Eighth Convocation, O.&W., 1860*, p. 6; *Spirit of Missions*, 1861, p. 350; *Oregon Churchman*, October, 1861.

<sup>54</sup>Jessett, *Olympia*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>55</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1861, p. 12.

<sup>56</sup>*The Northwest* (Port Townsend), October 4, 1860.

Together, the three clergymen spent three days at Port Townsend, holding evening services for large congregations. Hills accompanied Scott and Willis to Olympia, where he preached again and Scott confirmed two adults. This visit of Hills to the American side of the line presumably was a return call for Scott's visit to Victoria in 1857 for confirmation, and thus was begun the amicable relationships between the Canadian and American branches of the Anglican Communion in the Pacific Northwest, which have continued ever since. Scott visited Kendig at Steilacoom, but found him too ill to participate in the service.<sup>57</sup>

The first interest shown towards the Indians by an Episcopal clergyman was displayed by Willis in 1860, when he organized a class of Indian boys in his Sunday school at Olympia. The boys, from 10 to 16 years of age, were excellent pupils and seem to have taken part in all the regular activities, including the Christmas party.<sup>58</sup>

Willis prepared a parish roll, showing fourteen families belonging to the Church. Although he was impressed with the future possibilities of the Puget Sound region, there were other things he did not like. He wrote from Olympia:

One of the most important towns in the territory; first, from its situation at the head-quarters of that great inland sea, Puget Sound . . . secondly, from the fact that it is surrounded with vast forests containing inexhaustible supplies of fir and cedar . . . thirdly, from the fact that the waters of the Sound are easily reached from the Pacific Ocean . . . These advantages indicate to me the future importance of places upon the Sound, when the Atlantic and Pacific shall be linked together by iron bands.

This much for the natural advantages of this region. As to the religious and moral qualifications of *all* the residents, as much could not with truth be said. Infidelity and skepticism are not nourished in secret; intemperance does not fix the same blot upon the escutcheon of individual reputation as in the older settled portions of our country. Many of the population . . . seem to have forgotten the religious and moral restraints of early education and habit, and deem themselves emancipated from restraint and responsibility . . . Still, there are many here of upright, manly, and noble character, whose religious and moral deportment show them actuated by conscientious motives.

Many, also, are there, who think less of God and the future than of the excitement of money-making, the delirium of politics, or the delicious frenzy of intoxication.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup>The Northwest (Port Townsend), October 4, 1860.

<sup>58</sup>*The Washington Standard* (Olympia), December 22, 1860; December 29, 1860.

<sup>59</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1860, p. 353.



In spite of this very noticeable progress in his field, Willis resigned at the end of September 1861 and went to California.

Maples, who had come to be the rector of Trinity Church, Portland, disappointed that congregation when, after less than six months, he resigned in October 1860. To fill this gap, the Rev. Peter Edward Hyland, who arrived later than the rest of the group from the General Seminary, accepted the rectorship.<sup>60</sup> A slight increase in the effectiveness of the clergy was secured when James R. W. Sellwood was advanced to the priesthood at St. Paul's Church in Salem, October 7, 1860.<sup>61</sup>

Sixteen months after he had arrived back from the East, full of enthusiasm because of five new clergymen committed to his field, Scott had only one of them still with him.

Two new churches were consecrated in 1861. On January 6, St. Paul's Church, Oregon City, was fitted out by Scott at his personal expense and consecrated.<sup>62</sup> Meanwhile, Fackler, working at it himself a good share of the time, had completed the Church of the Incarnation at Butteville, and it was consecrated June 23. Unfortunately, in December of this year a disastrous flood destroyed Champoege and the schoolhouse there where services had been held since 1852.<sup>63</sup>

### The Trials of War and of Gold Fever

But 1861 brought heavier trials to the bishop than the loss of two clergymen and the destruction of a building: the Civil War, and the discovery of gold in eastern Washington Territory, now Idaho.

The original act creating the Oregon Territory had prohibited slavery, and when Oregon adopted its constitution in 1859, neither free nor slave Negroes were permitted to reside within the state. Slavery was likewise forbidden by the act that created Washington Territory in 1853. There were many Southerners in the Pacific Northwest who were sympathetic to slavery, and with almost no abolitionist sentiment. As late as 1860, James Tilton of Olympia, a member of St. John's Church, advertised for the return of a Negro boy slave, who had escaped and fled to British Columbia, where he could be certain of safety and freedom.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup>Peter E. Hyland, "Recollections," *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>61</sup>*Oregon Churchman*, October 1861.

<sup>62</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1861, pp. 111, 350.

<sup>63</sup>*Oregon Churchman*, October 1861; *ibid*, December, 1861.

<sup>64</sup>*Puget Sound Herald* (Steilacoom), October 5, 1860.



Scott himself a Southerner, naturally had many friends among these people, and when some young hotheads in the group began to contemplate rash action, there arose some considerable tension. However, the United States Government kept a garrison present at all times and no friction occurred. No drafts were made on the area for troops, but a number of young men went east to fight for the side of their choice.<sup>65</sup>

The war affected the Episcopal Church in the Northwest in two ways, the first being the cutting off of clergy reinforcements. Only one appointment was made by the Board of Missions during the war period, and he, the Rev. Richard F. Putnam, after serving a few months in Oregon City in 1862, departed for California.<sup>66</sup> John Sellwood, son of James R. W. Sellwood, was made a deacon in July 1862, and took charge of Milwaukie and Oregon City under the direction of Scott and Fackler.<sup>67</sup> Kendig, who had been giving occasional services to Olympia, left in February 1863 for California, leaving Puget Sound without any ministrations.<sup>68</sup> Fortunately, faithful laymen came to the front to maintain services at Port Townsend, Olympia and Roseburg in the south. Annual visits by the bishop kept up the morale of these distant points.

The second effect of the war was to cut missionary stipends. James R. W. Sellwood's support from South Carolina churches was cut off, and although the Board of Missions agreed to give him support, decreased missionary giving made reductions in allowances necessary. To make things worse, the missionaries were paid in Eastern "greenbacks," which the "hard money" West discounted substantially.<sup>69</sup>

Harmony prevailed among the clergy of the jurisdiction during the war, due partially to the fact that the Episcopal Church took no official stand upon the issue of slavery. In his annual address to the convocation of 1861, the bishop stated:

Our beloved country is suddenly lighted up with the fires of civil war. It is useless for me to depict the horrors of this contest . . . Nor is it my province . . . to discuss the causes . . . It is the voice of God in the tempest. Let us "hear the rod, and who had appointed it."

It is a cause for thankfulness to us that the Church in which we minister has had no complicity in the sectional agitation preceding these disasters, and no doubt contributing largely to their development. We have confined ourselves strictly to our mis-

<sup>65</sup>Winther, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>66</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1862, p. 354.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup>*Oregon Churchman*, August 1, 1872.

<sup>69</sup>*Proceedings, 11th Convocation, O.&W.*, 1863, p. 9.

sion as a Church, leaving all political and social disputes where they properly belong—to the State, and to the progress of Christian civilization. . .

While we cherish every lofty sentiment of Christian patriotism, and hold ourselves ready to meet even its sternest behest when clearly uttered, let us still be true to the Gospel which we profess . . . Let us humble ourselves, and call upon all others to do likewise, beneath the mighty hand of God, that in due time He may lift us up, and restore peace in our time.

Let us ever cherish a spirit of charity, of considered thoughtfulness of each other's views and feelings . . . There are among ourselves, I trust, no grounds of party division, or serious differences of opinion. Then let us never import the disputes of others to mar our harmony.<sup>70</sup>

For the remainder of the war, the bishop made no reference in his annual addresses to the conflict that was raging in the states to the east.

The rush that same year to the gold mines in eastern Washington, erected as the Territory of Idaho by Congress in 1863, depleted the male population of many communities west of the Cascades. McCarty wrote from Vancouver that two-thirds of the adult male population had left for the mines.<sup>71</sup>

The winter of 1861-62 was an unusually severe one, and J. R. W. Sellwood wrote from Salem:

Many an individual has lost his life . . . in going or returning from the mines, by reason of the intense cold . . . three-fourths of the cattle and sheep in this valley, and east of the mountains, have died of starvation.

Commenting that every third man in Salem would soon be leaving for the mines, he added:

These insane gold-hunts have become a serious evil of the country; the suddenness with which they spring up, and the furor with which they rage, are almost a bar to any kind of enterprise requiring the labor of but one's self. The farmer sows his crop, and perchance harvest-time finds the country half-depopulated by a gold excitement, and he unable to "reap where he had sown." The contractor lays his plans, and enters upon his engagements during the lull which follows the explosion of one of these humbugs, perhaps to find the time for their fulfillment with a fresh one upon the country, which advanced the cost of

<sup>70</sup>*Oregon Churchman*, October 1861.

<sup>71</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1862, p. 358; *Proceedings, 10th Convocation, O.&W.*, 1862.

labor in like proportion, if not rendered it impossible to obtain. And so it is with every species of business.<sup>72</sup>

Perturbed, Scott issued a New Year pastoral letter to his people, in which he said, among other things:

There are things of more value than gold. You may make sacrifices in order to go to the mines which no possible success can repay. The dilapidations of home, which years cannot restore; the neglect of children, which no time can repair; spiritual decay and deadness—these are hazards not to be incurred. But should any after all deem it proper to go, let us beseech you not to forget your spiritual interest, your Christian calling. Beware of covetousness. Beware of the seduction of gain and evil association. Carry your Bible and Prayer-book with you. Sanctify the Lord's Day and, if possible, unite in public worship.<sup>73</sup>

A further casualty of the war was *The Oregon Churchman*. Inspired by the success of the printing presses sent by the Congregationalists of New England to their mission outposts, the Sunday school children of the diocese of Massachusetts sent a printing press to Scott in 1859, which he named the "Griswold Press,"<sup>74</sup> after the well-known New England bishop. The press was set up in Oregon City, and in October 1861 Scott began the publication of *The Oregon Churchman* once a month. Devoted to local and national Church news, it was issued for two years, but the financial stringency of the war years forced its discontinuance in 1863, and the press was subsequently sold.

### Third Report to the General Convention—1862

Bishop Scott's third report to the General Convention, although not dated in the latter's *Journal*,<sup>75</sup> was apparently written before he was stricken in the summer of 1862. Heretofore, he had presented his triennial report in person, "believing that I could better serve the interests of the Mission under my charge than by remaining here during the same time. But in the present condition of our afflicted country"—the Civil War—"I presume no such results could follow, and I consequently remain at my post."

After detailing the state of the Church in his jurisdiction, he states,

"At no period has our Mission been in a more vigorous state. All our congregations, two perhaps excepted, are now regu-

<sup>72</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1862, p. 204.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>74</sup>*Proceedings, Seventh Convocation, O.&W.*, 1859, p. 15.

<sup>75</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1862, pp. 236-241.

larly contributing to their own support, and in none is there more readiness or activity than in the two now vacant, at Olympia and Roseburg; each being ready to provide about half a clergyman's support . . ."

He was perhaps over-optimistic when he added:

"Had all the clergymen who came to our district within the last three years remained among us as laborers, as we supposed they would, we should have presented ourselves now as a regularly organized Diocese, with all the elements of gradual enlargement."

Eight years of hard work and reflection had convinced him that, although "ours is mostly a village and rural population," it contained "nevertheless all the elements which are to give character and shape, and that speedily, to a great commonwealth." He admitted that "we can offer no satisfactory inducements to those whose ideas of clerical life are all associated with crowds and their peculiar attractions; nor can we report such results as are looked for as a test of success by those whose expectations run in this channel." But he stated clearly and succinctly the *real* task of the Church in his jurisdiction at that time:

"Ours is the still more important work of assisting to lay aright the foundations of Christian society in a new country; of forming and training up congregations whose influence is to be more and more widely felt in the growth and strength of coming generations. We are to engage in such a field not because the condition of society is what we could desire, but to *make* it, by the blessing of God, what it should be. This is the true idea of *missionary* work . . ."

Whereas the increase in population had hitherto been slow, "now it is otherwise. The present year is adding largely to our number," and he thought

"it would greatly increase the efficiency and growth of our work on this coast if Washington Territory were placed under a distinct Episcopal Head, and especially now that the population is so largely increasing east of the Cascade Mountains. The distance and labor of travel for my present jurisdiction are more than doubled by the settlement of the mining region, which will speedily be extended to the Rocky Mountains."

In Scott's second report to the General Convention—that of 1859—there runs, as we have seen, the overtone of desperate need of more clergy; in his third report, the overtone of clerical instability, the evil tendency of frequent clerical changes, is not only implicit but explicit.

Before he starts to expound this latter evil, his urbane spirit thus expresses itself:

"In the progress and results of the work thus far, I have not been disappointed. I stated distinctly, after my first inspection of the field, that it would be a work of time, of patient labor, and of continued nursing care. In view of all this, the Domestic Committee have continued their generous sympathy and liberal aid. To their unabated confidence and honorable forbearance, and to the unwearied and fraternal correspondence of their Secretaries, I owe a debt which I can never cancel."

Bishop Scott's thorough yet temperate exposition of one of the great faults of the clergy is not ancient history but current history—a fault of every generation of the clergy, differing only in degree from one generation to another. Written almost a century ago, it is very timely today and will be tomorrow.

As the bishop said then, "frequent clerical changes are of evil tendency." If they were peculiar to his mission, he would "say less, perhaps nothing. But as it is an evil widely felt in all our Domestic Missions, there will be less of a personal character in my reference to it"—although his jurisdiction had suffered grievously from it.

"When the Domestic Committee of the Board [of Missions] adopt a certain diocese or district, it is for the purpose of doing a certain amount of missionary work in that field; and they accordingly appropriate a certain amount of their funds, and invite the attention of clergymen to that mission. Then when a clergyman, after due inquiry, offers his services to the Committee, he is supposed to have made himself acquainted with the character and wants of that particular field, to have come to the deliberate conviction that it is God's will he should labor there, and to offer himself in good faith to do so. He receives an outfit and a pledge of stipend for that purpose from funds appropriated, specifically, for that mission,—*special* funds it may be, given for that particular field. With this commission and outfit, therefore, he is expected to go forth, not on an adventure, not on a tour of pleasure, not to turn aside elsewhere if he supposes he can do better, but to devote himself to the missionary work in a specified field.

"There may be more important or inviting positions elsewhere, much more attractive to ambition, or avarice, or literary taste, or love of ease, or fondness for society; but he is supposed to have considered all this, and to have made up his mind in view of all the facts, at whatever cost or sacrifice, to devote himself, for Christ's sake, for the Gospel's sake, to the labor of a missionary in a chosen field. In no other spirit, as I con-

ceive, should any clergyman offer himself as a missionary, either Domestic or Foreign."

"Now suppose it happen otherwise," continued the bishop, "and that the missionary . . . having entered on it [his work], soon abandons it, either for some other field or to *return home*." Then "very serious consequences must inevitably result."

"1. It makes sad disappointments." Not only are the missionary committee, the bishop and the other missionaries disappointed, but "the people of the Missionary District are disappointed, especially those who are anxious for religious services and privileges"; and so is the Church at large.

"2. It is a misdirection or waste of missionary funds," and Bishop Scott is forthright in declaring that "the missionaries appointed under such appropriation should apply it accordingly, or return it to the treasury."

"3. It is a serious discouragement," both to those who give for the cause of missions and to the people of the missionary district concerned.

"The fact that a missionary is appointed to take charge of a certain field is an invitation to the people to unite with him in establishing the Church and sustaining the ministry. If kindly, and earnest, and adapted to his work, he will soon find a few at least ready thus to cooperate with him. They are at first mainly interested in him, but will, by degrees, become interested in the Gospel and attached to the Church. They contribute, liberally it may be for them, to erect a house of worship and to furnish it. But before they are fairly established, the missionary suddenly departs, and the unfledged brood are left to pine away, without protection or guidance. They are not only discouraged—they are wounded and vexed just in proportion to the interest and affection they had extended, and it will be difficult to enlist them again. In this way many a fair beginning has been not only checked, but totally blasted."

"4. Finally, it casts suspicion and discredit upon the clergy themselves," and here the bishop lays on with a heavy hand, and justly, against that cant of some clergymen who justify what they want to do when they want to do it by calling it "divine guidance."

"When a clergyman professes that he is moved by divine guidance to devote himself to a particular field of missionary labor, it is difficult for plain people to understand how divine guidance should, in a few weeks, send him somewhere else. To them it seems fickleness. Or when a clergyman professes himself moved by a loud call of destitution to go as a missionary into the waste places, that he may preach the Gospel to the



poor, and gather in the wanderers into the fold of Christ, it is difficult for plain people to understand how, in a few weeks, a sense of duty should constrain him to leave his 'few sheep in the wilderness,' and retire to a more refined and hospitable position. To them it seems sordid. The impression is distinct, that men will continue as missionaries only until they 'can do better.'"

Bishop Scott was not content with a negative though incisive analysis of the problem; he penned a constructive and noble portrait of what a missionary should be:

"To be successful, a missionary must identify himself with the people among whom he goes, and take a real interest in them and in all pertaining to their welfare. And if, in humility and faithfulness, he devote himself to this object, for Christ's sake, and the souls for whom He died, he will deserve and he will receive the confidence and affection of those among whom he labors, and will be the blessed instrument of bringing many to Christ and eternal life. This is, indeed, a style of devotion rarely found, because it belongs to the highest grade of spiritual motive and self-abnegation. Yet it is the lesson and example given us by Christ and His Apostles, and it is that which the Church so much needs in order to fulfill her mission of love to this fallen and revolted world. For want of it, she is so long in recovering to Christ 'the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.'"

What was needed in a missionary then, is needed now; and since every clergyman, whether *officially* a missionary or not, is intended to be one, each can and should take that portrait as the goal of his own ministry.

### Resignation Not Accepted

While making his annual visitation to Puget Sound early in the summer of 1862, Scott was stricken with diphtheria. After getting up from the attack, he proceeded to Olympia, but was forced by weakness to remain there for two weeks recuperating.<sup>76</sup>

In his exhausted condition he felt that he could no longer supervise so large a territory, and on September 1st, from his home in Milwaukie, Oregon, he addressed a letter of resignation to the House of

<sup>76</sup>*Proceedings, 11th Convocation, O.&W., 1863, p. 6.*



Bishops soon to convene, October 1st, in General Convention in New York.<sup>77</sup>

Unfortunately, although he stated that he "had intended to dispatch this letter a week ago, but was attacked with a fever which compels me to use the pen of another," he did not say what the fever was or that he had had diphtheria, which, a generation before antitoxin was developed, if it did not kill, left its victims in a bad physical condition. He did, however, say:

"Thirty years of clerical labor, devoted mostly to pioneer work in the forming settlements of our country, have left me with with greatly diminished power of physical endurance, so that it is no longer possible for me to perform the duties of my present jurisdiction. . . .

I respectfully ask leave to resign my Episcopal jurisdiction in Oregon and Washington Territory. I will remain and perform the duties until my successor is prepared to enter upon the charge,—say the first of April next. I am painfully conscious that my duties have been imperfectly performed, but I have done what I could.

After so many years spent abroad in frontier life, I long for some retirement, but especially to be released from the weighty responsibility of an Episcopal charge.

. . . Were I using my own pen I would say much more."

On October 6th, Scott's letter was read to the House and referred to the committee on Domestic Missions,<sup>78</sup> of which Bishop Kemper was chairman and Bishops Lee of Iowa and Whipple of Minnesota were the other members. The next day, the committee reported:

" . . . the subject involved is one of so much importance that they refrain from any positive recommendation to this House. The Missionary Bishop declares himself to be unable to perform the duties of his charge. The Committee are in entire ignorance of any other facts touching so grave a question as his resignation. The field committed to his care is one of growing interest and importance. He has occupied it with encouraging success nearly ten years, and your Committee cannot discover sufficient reasons for his abandonment of the same, unless his health is permanently impaired. Your Committee

<sup>77</sup>*General Convention Journal, 1862*, pp. 119-120. Through an error, the letter is headed "Milwaukie, Wisconsin," but it was impossible for Scott to have reached that city by September 1, 1862. There were no railroads between Oregon and Wisconsin at this time.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.* For the various stages of action on the resignation, see pp. 125, 135-136, and 149.

are not entirely agreed as to the precise form in which the subject should be acted upon by this House, and therefore beg leave to return letter of resignation to the House, to be disposed of as in its wisdom shall seem best calculated to promote the Missionary work in our wide domestic field."

Bishop Kemper, the chairman and the member of the House with the longest missionary experience, moved that the resignation be accepted, but Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania moved a substitute:

"That this House respectfully request Bishop Scott to withdraw his letter of resignation, and avail himself of such rest from his labors and absence from his jurisdiction as the state of his health may require. . ."

This substitute was carried, 14 Ayes, 8 Nays. Bishop Lee of Iowa voted for it; Bishops Kemper and Whipple, against it.

Whatever one may think of this action, the next one was a serious blunder. On October 15th, the House requested the Presiding Bishop to communicate to Bishop Scott "the action of this House in regard to his proposed resignation. . . ." The Presiding Bishop was Thomas Church Brownell of Connecticut, then aged 83 years and so infirm that he was unable to attend meetings of the General Convention. The result was that Scott did not hear of the action for fifteen months.

### The Good Soldier Carries On

Bishop Scott had spent August in Astoria, seeking to regain his strength, and while there took some services. Such interest was shown that he sent Thomas A. Hyland there in September 1864, after the latter's return from California.<sup>79</sup>

The same year, to meet the needs of the rapidly growing city of Portland, Scott built and furnished at his own expense St. Stephen's Chapel, the second building of the Episcopal Church in the city. It seated 300, and Scott officiated there whenever possible, assisted by the young deacon, John W. Sellwood.<sup>80</sup>

In July 1864, James R. W. Sellwood relinquished all aid from the Board of Missions and put St. Paul's, Salem, on a self-supporting basis, although this was only possible because he had some private means.

<sup>79</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1865, p. 98; *Proceedings, 12th Convocation, O.&W.*, 1864, passim.

<sup>80</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1864, p. 34.

In addition to his work at Salem, he had been visiting Roseburg and other southern Oregon communities.<sup>81</sup>

By this time Scott had become convinced of the necessity of using some clergymen on an itinerant basis. He appealed to the Board of Missions for funds to send two clergymen on a six months' tour. The Board approved,<sup>82</sup> and McCormac and Fackler volunteered for these assignments.

McCormac was assigned to southern Oregon, where he held regular services at Roseburg, organized a new congregation at Oakland, and visited Corvallis, Monroe, Grand Prairie and Cloverdale,<sup>83</sup> before returning to his regular post at Eugene.

Fackler volunteered to go to the mining country of Idaho, as his wife and two children (he had remarried in 1860) had left for the Atlantic Coast to visit relatives. He started eastward to the mines in July 1864, stopping on the way at the Dalles, Umatilla, La Grand and Auburn, in each of which towns he held services. He reached Boise in time to hold his first service there on August 14.<sup>84</sup>

Scott, who had long wanted to visit the mining region, set out a week later than Fackler. He stopped for services at the Dalles, Umatilla, Walla Walla and La Grand. Scott and Fackler met in the Boise Basin and toured around, with the bishop holding services at Idaho City, Placerville and Centerville, and visiting Pioneer City. Scott makes no mention of being in Boise,<sup>85</sup> where Fackler was the only minister of any denomination. Fackler offered to remain in Boise if some support was offered, and when it was promised, he stayed, although his salary was paid by the Board of Missions.<sup>86</sup>

John W. Sellwood was advanced to the priesthood July 2, 1865, and Fackler wrote to him shortly afterwards to bring his wife and come to Idaho. Idaho, said Fackler, was "a good center for a mission, if one has the requisite physique to endure the labor, for it is trying to flesh and blood, to say nothing of brains." He pointed out that there was a large population in the towns of the Boise Basin, in which there were "some good families . . . but the majority are of the baser sort, and their presence makes it very unpleasant for the decent females to be about."

<sup>81</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1864.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 1864, pp. 99-100.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, 1865, pp. 57-58.

<sup>84</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1865; *St. Michael's Cathedral, Boise, Idaho, Seventy-fifth Anniversary, 1864-1939*, p. 1.

<sup>85</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1864, pp. 359-360; *Proceedings, 13th Convocation, O.&W.*, 1865.

<sup>86</sup>*St. Michael's Cathedral, op. cit.*, p. 1; Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* (New York, 1906), p. 281.

He wrote of an overnight horseback ride of 60 miles to Ruby City, where he preached the first sermon ever heard there, as he did also at Silver City. In conclusion, he wrote:

To give a little excitement to the journey, and remove the tediousness which so lonesome a travel is apt to produce, there is just the faintest possibility of meeting a roving Snake Indian, or more, who will, without further ceremony, demand your horse or your hair, and who will not be satisfied unless he gets both. But don't be scared, this will not be so long. By the time you get here, and it falls to your lot to go to Ruby City, there will be no danger from Indians.<sup>87</sup>

Sellwood declined the invitation!

When the annual convocation met in St. Stephen's Chapel, Portland, July 1, 1865, Scott noted with satisfaction that he had ten clergymen well distributed over his vast jurisdiction.<sup>88</sup> McCarty at Vancouver; Fackler at Boise City; McCormac at Eugene; a new deacon, Ilas F. Roberts, who arrived in November 1864, at Roseburg;<sup>89</sup> Daly assisting occasionally in Portland; James R. W. Sellwood at Salem; John W. Sellwood at Oregon City; John Sellwood, in fair health, taking services at the state penitentiary in Portland; Thomas A. Hyland at Astoria, where he had organized Grace Church and was planning to erect a building;<sup>90</sup> and Peter Hyland at Olympia, to which post he had just gone, having resigned as rector of Trinity, Portland, the previous month. The latter post was vacant. Six of these, Fackler, McCormac, J. W. Sellwood, Roberts and the two Hylands, were supported by the Board of Missions.<sup>91</sup>

The arrival of Peter Hyland gave a new impetus to the work on Puget Sound. Olympia fashioned St. John's Church out of an old carpenter shop, and the bishop consecrated it September 3, 1865.<sup>92</sup> Port Townsend finished St. Paul's Church, which had been slowly building for years, and the bishop consecrated it, August 26, 1866.<sup>93</sup>

Hyland also found time to visit Seattle, where, on Sunday, August 13, 1865, he held a service in the Methodist Church and the following

<sup>87</sup>*Semi-Centennial of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Oregon, 1851-1901*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>88</sup>*Proceedings, 13th Convocation, O.&W., 1865.*

<sup>89</sup>*Spirit of Missions, 1865*, pp. 255-256.

<sup>90</sup>*Grace Church, Astoria, A Brief History of Seventy-Five Years, 1864-1939*, p. 5.

<sup>91</sup>*Spirit of Missions, 1865* (see list of missionaries printed in each issue on the inside back cover).

<sup>92</sup>Jessett, *Olympia*, p. 22.

<sup>93</sup>*Proceedings of the Board of Missions, Thirty-Second Annual Meeting, 1866*, p. 95.

day organized Trinity Church.<sup>94</sup> Soon a Sunday school was organized, a lot purchased, and Hiram Burnett authorized to act as treasurer and lay reader, the services being held in the United States Hotel and Plummer's Hall.<sup>95</sup>

After nine years at Salem, James R. W. Sellwood moved to Milwaukie in the fall of 1865, where he assumed charge of St. John's Church, and two years later began services in East Portland. This move brought him near to his son, John W. Sellwood, who had charge of Oregon City and Butteville. The latter church gave up regular services the following autumn, freeing John W. Sellwood for services at Salem once a month to help keep his father's old parish going. John Sellwood was in good enough health to take charge of St. Stephen's, Portland.<sup>96</sup> The Rev. William H. Stoy arrived as the rector of Trinity Church, Portland, early in the summer of 1866.

Fackler spent the winter of 1856-66 in Portland, Butteville and vicinity, returning to Boise in March. On the way back, he stopped at Walla Walla for a service and urged that a clergyman be sent there,<sup>97</sup> so Roberts was transferred from Roseburg, but he shortly moved to Summerville in the Grand Ronde Valley. Fackler opened his new church building in September, the first of any denomination in Boise.<sup>98</sup> In December, he left to join his wife and children on the Atlantic coast, planning to return with them. After leaving Panama, cholera broke out on the ship in which he was travelling, and Fackler, who was unceasing in his ministrations to the sick and dying, contracted the disease and died on board. He was buried at Key West, Florida, January 7, 1867.<sup>99</sup>

Scott had a rough trip travelling to and from Puget Sound in the late summer of 1866. On his way to Olympia, the stage coach overturned and he was thrown out, but escaped serious injury.<sup>100</sup> Of this road a traveller wrote to the *New York Tribune* the same year:

I'm in great luck sure, for I'm here alive. . . And if human nature ever gets into a condition to appreciate and properly value a soft clean bed, or a clean cloth bountifully spread with everything good, it is at this end of the stage line from Olympia . . . At every step of his progress, the question arises, how is re-

<sup>94</sup>*Seattle Weekly Gazette*, August 19, 1865; Peter Edward Hyland, "The Beginning of Trinity Church, Seattle," *Seattle Churchman*, XII, 3-4.

<sup>95</sup>Mrs. E. E. Heg, "The Beginnings of Trinity Church, Seattle," *Seattle Churchman*, XIII, 3-4.

<sup>96</sup>*Proceedings, 14th Convocation, O.&W., 1866.*

<sup>97</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1866, p. 377.

<sup>98</sup>Thomas Donaldson, *Idaho of Yesterday* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1941), pp. 64-65.

<sup>99</sup>*Proceedings of the Board of Missions, Thirty-third Annual Meeting*, p. 18.

<sup>100</sup>*Proceedings, 15th Convocation, O.&W., 1867.*

lief of this intolerable suffering to be obtained . . . The great want of the Territory is the want of roads, and the *road* of all roads most needed is this from Olympia to the Columbia river.<sup>101</sup>

While on Puget Sound, Scott visited Bishop Hills at Victoria; confirmed Hiram Burnett, the lay reader in Seattle, at a service in the Methodist church there on September 19; consecrated St. Paul's Church, Port Townsend; and officiated at Olympia.<sup>102</sup> In journeying between Port Townsend and Olympia on the return trip, the bishop and Hyland, in order to meet the former's schedule of appointments in Portland, had to accept

The only one offering . . . within the compass of our means, [which] was a canoe . . . This is accepted, but it is by no means a pleasant mode of travel, for we are obliged to lie at full length at the bottom, without shelter from the heat or cold; travelling night and day without any other covering than that we stood in the day previous, exposed to the scorching sun and the chilling midnight air, to say nothing of the dangers incident to travel in an Indian boat twelve feet long and three feet wide.

Through a kind Providence we arrived safely at our destination though somewhat more stiffened than when we started.<sup>103</sup>

### Educational Ventures

Scott at this time was deeply disappointed in having to close the two educational institutions of the diocese, especially as he held the view that the "prevalent system of public schools is insufficient as to the great work of moral training without which any course of education is but a fatal delusion."<sup>104</sup>

With four thousand dollars provided by an Eastern friend, Scott had purchased seventy acres, with a house and school building on it, in 1856 at Oswego, Oregon. That fall, under the principalship of Bernard Cornelius, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, the "Episcopal High School" had opened with seventeen boarders and a few day pupils. Board and tuition were \$60 per quarter, which with other expenses made it \$200 per annum.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>101</sup>Quoted in Wither, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>102</sup>*Proceedings, 15th Convocation, O.&W.*, 1867; Parish Register, I, St. John's Church, Olympia, Wash.

<sup>103</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1867, pp. 36-37.

<sup>104</sup>*Proceedings, 15th Convocation, O.&W.*, 1867.

<sup>105</sup>*The Oregonian*, July 5, 1856.



Courses offered included Latin, French, Greek, geometry, arithmetic, mercantile science, natural and national history, geography, natural philosophy, etc.<sup>106</sup>

In the fall of 1858, a primary department known as "Trinity School for Boys" was added. Cornelius remained in charge until 1860, when he resigned. After being closed two years, it was reopened under Fackler for a year, but he left upon Cornelius' return in 1863, as the enrollment had fallen under his administration to only five boys. Cornelius was unable to bring the school back to its earlier record of thirty boys, and in 1865 the place was closed, and the property sold for \$4,000.00.<sup>107</sup>

Spencer Hall for Girls was opened at Milwaukie in 1860, and when the head mistress left shortly after, Bishop and Mrs. Scott moved to the school and Mrs. Scott assumed responsibility for the welfare of the girls. The rates were the same as for the boys' school. Enrollment reached a total of thirty girls. Inability to find a suitable head mistress forced the bishop to close this school in 1866. Property and money were placed in the hands of a board of trustees, which had been helping the bishop in the management, until a more auspicious time in the future.<sup>108</sup>

Meanwhile, at Astoria, Thomas A. Hyland opened Grace Church Parish School in 1864. At this time there was considerable ferment in Oregon regarding public and private schools, and this venture became a rallying point for the opposition to public education. Hyland taught most of the classes himself. These consisted largely of older boys who had been delayed in their education, and they were charged \$7.00 per quarter. Subjects taught included Latin, algebra, natural philosophy and advanced studies. Enrollment varied from twenty to thirty pupils, and the school functioned successfully until Hyland left in 1878.<sup>109</sup>

Scott was active in private school educational circles, and also was anxious that the laity of his jurisdiction have an understanding of their faith. He organized a "book depot" for clergy and laity, which was finally transferred to J. H. Parrish & Co., Portland. Many books from the Evangelical Society were reviewed in the *Oregon Churchman*, and secured for sale through this plan.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>106</sup>*The Oregonian*, July 5, 1856; June 20, 1857.

<sup>107</sup>Charles E. Lewis, "The History of the Educational Activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXV, 101-135; *Oregon Churchman*, October, 1861; *Proceedings, 11th Convocation, 1863*, pp. 11-15.

<sup>108</sup>Charles E. Lewis, *op. cit.*, *Oregon Churchman*, October, 1861.

<sup>109</sup>Alfred A. Cleveland, "The Educational History of Astoria," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, IV, 21-23.

<sup>110</sup>*Oregon Churchman*, 1861, p. 5.

Scott was on friendly terms with the clergy of all denominations. The Rev. W. T. Fenner, prominent Congregationalist missionary, said of him:

The grandest Christian man of my acquaintance in Oregon was Bishop Scott . . . I am glad to vacate my pulpit to him and take my seat with the audience, to feast on the fat of Gospel truth.<sup>111</sup>

The bishop also enjoyed a friendly theological argument, and upon one occasion visited the office of the Roman Catholic bishop, Francois Norbet Blanchet. From the latter's secretary Scott obtained a rare book in Latin upon the subject of the apostolic succession, which he read then and there. As Scott was thanking the secretary after reading the book, Bishop Blanchet heard him, rushed out, seized Scott by the arm, dragged him into his private office where he had been writing, and insisted that they "have it out now." They spent two happy hours together in discussion upon every subject but that in the book. In the end Blanchet insisted upon making a present of the book to Scott.<sup>112</sup>

#### Fourth and Last Report to the General Convention—1865

Bishop Scott's fourth and last report to the General Convention was a letter to the House of Bishops,<sup>113</sup> and is much shorter than its predecessors because the bishops were "sufficiently informed of the state of the Mission from my letters to the Domestic Committee, and reports to the Board of Missions"; therefore, "it is needless for me to repeat the details."

The opening paragraph contains statements which are, to put it mildly, amazing:

"Fifteen months after your meeting three years ago, I received a copy of your resolutions relative to my tendered resignation. Nor did I, meanwhile, receive any notice from any one of your body relating to it. It was thus quite too late to avail myself of the proffered relaxation, although it would have been agreeable at the proper season. However, according to your request, the resignation was withdrawn; and I have continued to discharge the duties of my post continuously, although imperfectly."

<sup>111</sup>*Oregon Churchman*, 1911, p. 6.

<sup>112</sup>Joseph Gaston, *Portland, Oregon: Its History and Builders*, p. 437.

<sup>113</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1865, pp. 323-325. The letter is dated "Portland, Oregon, August 23, 1865."

No wonder, in view of his never having received "any notice from any one of your body relating to it," that he said later on in the same letter:

"On some accounts, I would gladly have attended your present meeting; but the distance and the expense render it nearly impracticable. I regret this the more as the past six years fully confirm the old saying, 'Out of sight, out of mind.' However, I mind this sense of oblivion much less than I formerly did . . ."

Most of his letter is devoted to a "few general suggestions, touching the arrangement of the Diocese itself, for its efficient administration." But those "few general suggestions" are very significant.

1. Since "it is impossible for one man fully or satisfactorily to discharge the duties of a Bishop within such a jurisdiction," his first suggestion is "that a portion of the Territory be assigned to another Bishop."

2. What should be the line of division? If Washington Territory is connected with a new jurisdiction, both Scott and the new bishop "must travel by the same conveyance from the mouth of the Columbia to the Owyhee, a distance of seven or eight hundred miles. This, it is plain would involve a useless expenditure of time, labor, and money; as one of us could as well perform the official services of both along that entire line."

"The least expensive and most efficient plan would be to connect that part of Oregon and of Washington Territory which lies east of the Cascade Mountains with Idaho Territory and that part of Montana lying west of the Rocky Mountains. This would leave me that part of my present jurisdiction west of the Cascade Mountains, where most of my work has heretofore lain; and it is more than enough for one man."

This proposed, new eastern jurisdiction [east of Scott's] would be, in his opinion, more compact and accessible from Walla Walla, or Boise City, as a center. While such a division would disregard territorial lines, "there is no law against it," and "I see no reason why we should not consult the interests of the Church alone."

3. If, however, the House of Bishops deemed "it best to unite Idaho and Montana Territories entire," then the best division would be to let Scott's jurisdiction "consist of Oregon and Washington Territory entire."

"This would relieve me of all east of that [i. e. the present state of Idaho and the western part of Montana], which con-

stitutes the main addition to my former labor. I could avail myself of the kindness of my new brother to visit, occasionally at least, what lies east of the Blue Mountains, and contiguous to him. I do not propose any change for the sake of relieving myself of toil; but, professing again my inability to do justice to such a field, my object is such an arrangement as that a given amount of labor and expense will accomplish most for the Church."

He also advocated a second new jurisdiction to consist of Nevada, Arizona, and Utah.

Scott possessed genuine statesmanship, but he was ahead of his time. If William White, who in 1782 (five years before he was a bishop) first advocated the provincial system for the American Church, was 131 years ahead of his time, Scott, the first Western bishop to advocate it, was 48 years ahead of his time. With the two proposed new jurisdictions formed,

"the way would be prepared for another measure, which I trust you will adopt during the present General Convention [1865]; viz., the system of provinces, one of which will be west of the Rocky Mountains. With circumstances so diverse as characterize the different sections of our widely extended country, all experience decides that our present system can never be efficient in its application. To us on this coast especially, there is a felt want which our present canonical arrangement can never supply. Not only our present efficiency demands a more concentrated local action, but it is well for us to be prepared for changes and responsibilities which are sure to come at no distant day."

He then adduced another argument in favor of the provincial system, which was not too welcome to most of his brethren in the House of Bishops:

"It would be well, too, to avoid another result of our present system. One General Convention, representing and controlling a numerous and widely extended body of people, has a tendency to foster pride and a love of power. Not only may these become dangerous to the liberties of the Church, but they secularize and corrupt the Church itself. From this source we have not heretofore seriously suffered; but the past four years [war years] have demonstrated that there may be danger; and it is better, if possible, to prevent the evil, than to run the hazard of its consequence."

Provinces were not, however, set up in the American Church until 1913, but Scott was a prophet. The Province of the Pacific has from

its creation been the most active of all the eight provinces of the American Church.

Scott ends his letter on a somber note. Was it a premonition?

"It must be sad to us all to behold the seats made vacant in our house by death. I do not forget that my own unworthy name has ascended far up the list, and that it will speedily disappear. I have sought to derive a solemn lesson especially from the death of the late Bishop of Pennsylvania.<sup>114</sup> I had fondly hoped to greet him within my own Diocese, and to share for once the sympathy and counsel of one of my brethren at home. But it was God's will that I should only be permitted to read the burial-service over his remains in a sister Diocese. When one stands to speak over the remains of such a Bishop, it must remind him painfully of his own deficiencies, and of the necessity of being ever ready to render his own account."

But in spite of this somber feeling, his closing sentence is uplifting and genuinely Pauline in spirit:

"And now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, praying that he will guide you by his Spirit to such measures as may conduce to his glory, to the peace and unity of the Church, and the universal diffusion of the true gospel."

As one follows the course of Scott's recommendations through the *Journal* of the House of Bishops,<sup>114-a</sup> one gets the distinct impression that they were fumbling with a crucial problem, about which they knew too little, and the immensity of which they had not yet grasped. This is in a measure understandable, in view of the vast areas of the West, the difficulties of Western travel, and the fact that most of the bishops of that time understood neither the one nor the other. All the more reason why they should have taken the advice of those who knew about both from first hand experience.

There is very little in any of the *Journals* of the General Convention which is amusing, but the resolution of Bishop Bedell of Ohio brings a smile to the lips of a Westerner:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be requested to procure for the use of this House the best map of the Territories of the United States, especially that portion west of the Mississippi River.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>114</sup>Alonzo Potter (July 6, 1800—July 4, 1865), third bishop of Pennsylvania, died in his cabin in the ship *Colorado* in San Francisco harbor. See William W. Manross, "A Great Evangelical: Alonzo Potter . . .," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IX (1940), 97-130.

<sup>114-a</sup>See *General Convention Journal*, 1865, pp. 148, 154, 182, 189, 194, 196, 199-200, 200-201, 207.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 154.

That resolution should have been passed not later than twelve years before—1853—and adopted every three years thereafter!

When the General Convention of 1865 convened, something had to be done. Joseph C. Talbot,<sup>116</sup> after five years as missionary bishop of the North-West, was resigning at the age of forty-nine his impossible jurisdiction of three-quarters of a million square miles to become assistant bishop of Indiana. The solutions were unrealistic.<sup>117</sup>

Scott at the age of fifty-eight was left with all of Oregon and of Washington—165,000 square miles—including both sides of the Cascade Mountains. His recommendation of a new jurisdiction—Nevada, Arizona and Utah—would have encompassed over 300,00 square miles, and even that was too large for one bishop. But the House of Bishops added New Mexico, with its 121,000 square miles, making 430,000 square miles in all.

Scott's recommendation of a compact jurisdiction which would include Idaho, the portions of Oregon and Washington east of the Cascades, and the part of Montana west of the Rockies, was ignored. So also was his alternative suggestion of uniting Idaho and Montana Territories entire. Instead, the House of Bishops elected George Maxwell Randall<sup>118</sup> as the missionary bishop of "Colorado and parts adjacent, with jurisdiction in Colorado, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming"—another jurisdiction of 430,000 square miles. Within less than two years, Scott was dead; after an episcopate of less than eight years, 1865-1873, Randall died.

### Last Years, Death, and Appraisals

Deeply disappointed by the failure of the General Convention of 1865 to provide him with adequate episcopal relief, tired of the continued isolation from his episcopal colleagues, now almost eight years long, worn out with the hardships of travel, and despairing of being able to meet the demands of his office in view of the constantly expanding population in his vast jurisdiction,<sup>119</sup> Scott announced to the annual convocation of 1867, meeting in Trinity Church, Portland, May 23-25,

<sup>116</sup>For Talbot, see Thomas Jenkins, "Journal of the First Bishop of the North West . . .," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVII (1948), 60-105.

<sup>117</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1865, p. 200.

<sup>118</sup>For Randall, see E. Clowes Chorley, "The Beginnings of the Church in Colorado," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, III (1934), 65-75.

<sup>119</sup>This analysis of the reasons why Scott decided to leave is supported by Tuttle, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.



his intention of travelling to New York to request the Board of Missions to transfer him to the Atlantic Coast. His ostensible reason was that the move was necessary for his wife's health.

He reported to the convocation that during his episcopate he had ordained two deacons and four priests, and confirmed 274 persons: 215 in Oregon and 59 in Washington.<sup>120</sup> But these figures were not final for before he sailed from Astoria he consecrated the still unfinished Grace Church there. Thomas A. Hyland, the missionary there, wrote:

Here he baptized the last child, and here he confirmed the last candidate for confirmation. And when he had completed his last service in this diocese, and had taken off his Episcopal robes, he said: "These were formerly Bishop Wainwright's, and I leave them for my successor."<sup>121</sup> Here they remain just as he left them.<sup>122</sup>

Bishop and Mrs. Scott arrived in New York City on July 11, 1867. The bishop had been taken sick with Panama fever, but seemed to be recovering; he died unexpectedly, however, three days later, July 14th. He was buried in the churchyard of historic old Trinity Church at the head of Wall Street.<sup>123</sup>

Less than nine months after the death of Scott, the last of the trio of pioneers who had labored for thirteen years in the Pacific Northwest, John D. McCarty, resigned as rector of St. Luke's Church, Vancouver, Washington, and sailed for Washington, D. C., to retire and live with his son. His departure on April 8, 1868,<sup>124</sup> marked the close of the initial epoch in the establishment of the Episcopal Church in the region.

Perhaps the best indication of the effectiveness of Scott's episcopate can be found by checking the development of the three goals he set for his jurisdiction in his first convocation address: (1) settled pastors, (2) financial support, and (3) church buildings.

When he came, he found just two clergymen, Fackler in charge of everything in Oregon except Portland, and McCarty taking care of

<sup>120</sup>*Proceedings, 15th Convocation, O.&W., 1867.*

<sup>121</sup>Bishop Wainwright had entertained the Scotts prior to their sailing for Oregon in 1854. Upon Wainwright's death on September 21 of that year, his vestments were sent to Scott at the request of the Wainwright family. *Spirit of Missions*, 1855, p. 375.

<sup>122</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, 1867, p. 708.

<sup>123</sup>*Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 501-502; *Spirit of Missions*, 1867, pp. 576-580.

<sup>124</sup>Elizabeth Crawford Yates, MS. *History of St. Luke's Church, Vancouver, Wash.*

Portland and everything in Washington. When he left, there were eight clergymen in Oregon: Thomas A. Hyland at Astoria; Johnston McCormac at Eugene; William H. Stoy at Trinity, Portland; John Sellwood at St. Stephen's, Portland; James R. W. Sellwood at Milwaukie; John W. Sellwood at Oregon City; James L. Daly, still a deacon, at Portland but not very active; and Ilas F. Roberts at Summerville, Grand Ronde. In Washington were two clergymen: John D. McCarty at Vancouver; and Peter E. Hyland at Olympia. There were no clergy in Idaho since Fackler left. The increase in clergy over the thirteen years is five fold.

In spite of the arduous and difficult work required of them, Scott had a remarkable ability for keeping his clergy with him for long periods, an evidence of the esteem in which they held him. McCarty served under him during his entire episcopate, and Fackler served as faithfully until his tragic death a few months before Scott's. Johnston McCormac served under him nearly twelve years, and the three Sellwoods and Daly were with him eleven years, part of which time the younger Sellwood was only a lay reader. Peter Edward Hyland was with him seven years and his brother, Thomas A., four and a half years in two stints. Roberts had over two years of service, and Stoy, the last arrival, just one year. Of the five other clergymen who arrived during his episcopate, two left before appointment to a station. Only three resident clergymen left the jurisdiction during his thirteen years as bishop. This is an amazing record, which it is doubtful can be equalled by any diocese in the American Church either before or since.

Financially, three churches acquired self-support: Trinity, Portland; St. Stephen's, Portland; and St. Paul's, Salem, which, however, was without a rector at the time of Scott's death.

The number of church buildings had grown from one unfinished structure to thirteen completed buildings. There were nine in Oregon: Trinity, Portland; St. Stephen's Portland; St. John's, Milwaukie; Church of the Incarnation, Butteville; St. Paul's, Salem; St. Mary's, Eugene; St. George's, Roseburg; St. Paul's, Oregon City; and Grace Church, Astoria, consecrated but not entirely completed. In Washington there were three: St. Luke's, Vancouver; St. John's, Olympia; and St. Paul's, Port Townsend. In Idaho there was an unnamed building soon to be called St. Michael's in honor of the man who founded it, and who was the pioneer Episcopal clergyman in the Pacific Northwest.

Scott estimated the number of communicants when he came at fifty; when he left, there could hardly have been less than two hundred

at the least, a fourfold increase.<sup>125</sup> However, no accurate statistics were kept regarding Church membership during his time.

In the disposition of his resources, the bishop seems to have exercised excellent judgment. All places where he spent effort have survived to this day as centers of Church life. The only places that proved barren for the future were in Fackler's field. Champoege was swept away by a flood, and the Church of the Incarnation, Butteville, built largely by Fackler's own hands, gradually dropped out of sight after his death. Both of these were started before Scott's arrival.

Of the nine denominations represented in the Pacific Northwest at this time, the Episcopal Church stood sixth in size as nearly as can be determined—a position it appears to have held for the greater part of the period under review.

That Scott exercised personal influence among the leaders in the Pacific Northwest, especially in Oregon, is indicated by the conversion of Matthew Paul Deady, prominent Oregon jurist and Oregon's "first citizen" in his day, to the Episcopal Church.<sup>125-a</sup> However, the apparent loss of Scott's personal papers makes further analysis difficult.<sup>126</sup>

Bishop Scott told his first convocation that it was their lot to lay foundations. Under the limitations imposed by circumstances which were not subject to his control, Thomas Fielding Scott laid firm foundations for the Church to build upon in future years.

James Waldo Fawcett, the bishop's biographer, thus appraises him:

"Bishop Scott was a man of great energy of mind and wide information. He was gentle in manner and spontaneously generous of spirit, but was capable of forceful and apt expres-

<sup>125</sup>The first year statistics were kept, 1869, showed 244 communicants in the 12 churches in Oregon and Washington, of which Bishop Morris confirmed 29. *Proceedings, 17th Convocation, O.&W.*, 1869, p. 43.

<sup>125-a</sup>For Deady (1824-1893), see *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 167-168.

<sup>126</sup>Scott's diary for only a few years survives, and that is due to marvelous good fortune. After being given to a relative in South Carolina by Mrs. Scott, it was taken to Bellingham, Washington. Here a Portland layman discovered it when he stopped at the home where it was kept by mistake. Through his efforts, it was presented to the Diocese of Olympia. Unfortunately, Scott entered little but dates, towns, and texts of sermons preached.

The article on Scott in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 501-502, was written by James W. Fawcett of Washington, D. C., and mentions as a source, sermons, letters and a biographical sketch by Mrs. Scott in the Colburn Collection of autographic and bibliographical materials regarding American bishops in the archives of Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C. Stephen A. Hurlbut, acting librarian of the Washington Cathedral Library, wrote Thomas E. Jessett under date of March 5, 1947, that they could locate no such collection in the library.

sion of his views. As a preacher he was popular in both the South and West. His vision was greater than his opportunity, but he is gratefully remembered for his pioneer endeavors and considered by many an authentic martyr of the American Church."<sup>127</sup>

<sup>127</sup>*Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 502.

# Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle in the West

By Kenneth L. Holmes\*

**T**HE YEAR was 1877. The place was Boston. The occasion was a huge mass meeting in the Moody and Sanky Tabernacle. There had been a steady stream of speakers on missions. Now there was a lull. The crowd grew restless. Some were just starting to get up and leave, when a tall, heavily-bearded figure strode across the platform to the pulpit and declared in a resounding voice, "I am a wild man from the west." Needless to say, those who had been about to leave returned to their seats, and the whole crowd sat in breathless interest as Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Montana, Idaho, and Utah spoke of his experiences as overseer of a diocese of over 300,000 square miles.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most colorful personalities in the history of American Christianity and certainly a terminal figure in the story of the Rocky Mountain west was Bishop Tuttle. The purpose of this paper is to give a picture of him as he was seen and loved by the people among whom he traveled and labored for nineteen years.

There are still those who remember him vividly. In another ten years they will be gone. Each one has something different to contribute. Each memory is a vignette of the man. "Oh, yes, I remember him," said an old miner in Helena, "we used to call him 'Tutt.'"

There are the written reminiscences. Daniel Tuttle himself wrote *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop*.<sup>2</sup> It is the purpose of this study to avoid the use of this book, as nearly all articles on Tuttle since its publication have leaned too heavily on it and have neglected other primary sources.<sup>3</sup>

\*This essay was originally read before the Pacific Coast meeting of the American Society of Church History, at Eugene, Oregon. The author was then pastor of the First Baptist Church of Moscow, Idaho, and pastor of the American Baptist Convention to the students of the University of Idaho. He is now pastor of the Community Presbyterian Church of Westfir, Oregon, and is doing graduate research at the University of Oregon.—*Editor's note*.

<sup>1</sup>Thomas E. Dickey, "Daniel Sylvester Tuttle", *Progressive Men of Montana* (Chicago, N. D.) p. 522.

<sup>2</sup>(New York, 1906).

<sup>3</sup>The author found on comparing the letters of Tuttle in the library of the Montana Historical Society at Helena, Montana, that out of a sense of "propriety" Tuttle had left out of the letters, which he quoted so voluminously in his *Reminiscences*, much that is of great value to the historian.

There are the newspapers. In various parts of the states which were the territories of Tuttle's domain, in libraries, newspaper offices, city halls, and homes are files of these pioneer weeklies and semi-weeklies. They are written in a style that brings a smile to the modern hearer; nevertheless they are vital as primary sources. They are not only valuable in their write-ups, but their advertising reveals for us much about many of the business men who were the Church pillars and vestrymen in the incipient congregations of Tuttle's day.

There are the Church records both in the diocesan offices and at the churches. Some of them are in the homes of active Church members. Many of the reports of the missionary bishops are to be found in the files of the *Spirit of Missions*, the Episcopal missionary magazine of that day, now called *Forth*.

The Montana State Historical Society at Helena has the most valuable single source of all—seventy-five Tuttle letters, which were written by him from the pioneer towns of Montana, Utah, and Idaho. They are the letters from which he quoted in his *Reminiscences*,<sup>4</sup> plus many others. Daniel Tuttle sent them back to Montana from Missouri later in his life, as he thought that was the place for them.

One finds that he faces the same problem that Tuttle faced when he was "bishop of all outdoors," as he sometimes called himself; the problem of vastness and distance.

Tuttle's work in Utah is not to be considered here. In that territory an entirely different aspect arises in his relationship to the Mormons. Suffice it to say for now, that, though he disagreed violently with the Latter Day Saints as is shown by his references to them in his reports to the *Spirit of Missions*, he seemed to get along with them remarkably well and was highly regarded by them. A bishop was certainly not out of place among so many "bishops," and Daniel Tuttle was often amused at being mistaken for one of them, especially by children.

Daniel Sylvester Tuttle was born at Windham, New York, on January 26, 1837. At the age of thirty he was consecrated bishop. He became the first missionary bishop of Montana, with jurisdiction in Utah and Idaho, from 1867 to 1880, in which year Montana was set aside as a separate diocese. He continued as missionary bishop of Utah with jurisdiction in Idaho until 1886, when he became third bishop of Missouri. This he remained until his death on April 17, 1923. He was Presiding Bishop from 1903 to 1923. His episcopate was the long-

<sup>4</sup>The author found on comparing the letters of Tuttle in the library of the Montana Historical Society at Helena, Montana, that out of a sense of "propriety" Tuttle had left out of the letters, which he quoted so voluminously in his *Reminiscences*, much that is of great value to the historian.



est in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church—two weeks short of 56 years. He consecrated eighty bishops.<sup>5</sup>

On July 18, 1867, Montana's new bishop arrived at the territorial capital, Virginia City, to take up his duties, having left his wife and first child in the East to come later. His trip from Salt Lake City by stage coach had been an agonizing one, what with rivers to cross, mosquitoes to battle, and the loss of his best hat, travel through a July snowstorm, and a sick stomach. Upon arriving at Virginia City, he wrote his wife, "endurance and Jamaica ginger (my brandy was gone) bro't me thro' well, and I am now all right."<sup>6</sup>

On July 27, the *Montana Post*, pioneer newspaper of Virginia City, published the following item:

Episcopal—On last Sabbath morning Right Reverend Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle delivered in the Council Chamber, to a large and appreciative audience, the first sermon ever preached in Montana by a regularly ordained Episcopal minister. The subject was, "Natural and Revealed Religion," and afforded the speaker opportunity to lay the ground-work upon which is to be built up the Episcopal Church of this Territory. Viewing it in this light, it showed liberality, charity and appreciation of humanity's prejudices and weaknesses. As a literary effort, it was logical, concise and elegant. The delivery was impressive, void of ranting declamation, but in a clear, modulated and pleasing tone, tuned to the harmony of words and ideas. We have seldom listened to a service that commanded such profound attention, or one more deserving of the encomiums freely bestowed upon it.<sup>7</sup>

A month later he wrote his wife, "I make efforts to keep jolly, but sometimes I feel like a decayed lager beer saloon."<sup>8</sup>

The violence of life in the territorial capital is illustrated by the violence of the deaths as listed in the Virginia City parish register by the young bishop. This register is now in the diocesan office in Helena.<sup>9</sup> The causes of death were "falling into a shaft in a mine at Silver Star," "drowning in the river Madison," "inflammation of the stomach," "struck by a windlass hook," "apoplexy." The second of these, the

<sup>5</sup>An outline of the main facts of Tuttle's life is given as a footnote to an article by Edward L. Parsons "Bishop Tuttle—A Portrait," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (June 1948), pp. 140-150.

<sup>6</sup>Letter written to his wife on July 19, 1867. This is among the collection of Tuttle letters in the library of the Montana State Historical Society at Helena.

<sup>7</sup>There is a complete file of the *Montana Post* in the library of the Montana State Historical Society.

<sup>8</sup>Tuttle letters, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup>A photograph of the register and a printed copy of it with the names of the persons deleted is in "Montana Edition" of *Forth*, (May 1951) p. III.

drowning, involved a little boy about the age of Daniel Tuttle's own son, George, in the East. Tuttle wrote his wife about the funeral,

"I buried a little one 18 months old who had been drowned—it was a little boy . . . I read the service without responses in the log cabin of the Father, & at the grave with only Dr. Cornwell, the Negro grave-digger, the family, three or four women, & some little boys around me. A funeral service is far from being the solemn instructive thing here which it is in the East."<sup>10</sup>

The newspapers of Montana certainly gave the bishop their fullest cooperation in his years of service that followed. Each year nearly all of them would list for weeks ahead his itinerary. This list grew longer year by year. In 1875, the following list appeared. Between the lines, we must read of the miles of stage travel, the journeys on horseback, the fording of rivers, and the speaking places: saloons, schoolhouses, courtrooms, log cabins. This list appeared in the *New North-West* of Deer Lodge, on Friday, July 30, 1875:<sup>11</sup>

Sheridan	Aug. 13	Jefferson	21
Virginia	15-23	Boulder	22
Sterling	23	Blackfoot	24
Harrison's	24	Deer Lodge	26 Sun.
Radersburg	26	Pioneer	28
Hamilton	27	New Chicago	29
Bozeman	29 Sun.	Stevensville	Oct. 3
Willow Creek	Sep. 1	Corvallis	3
Gallatin City	2	Missoula	10 Sun.
Helena	5 Sun.	Deer Lodge	17 Sun.
Diamond	7 or 8	Silver Bow	18 or 19
Ft. Shaw	12	Poindexter's	21
Sun River	12	Argenta	22
Unionville	17	Bannock	27 Sun.
Helena	19 Sun.	Malad, (Idaho)	28
Clancy	20		

Then Bishop Tuttle would go on south into Idaho Territory and fill a like list of engagements.

A simple statement of the arrival of the bishop seems to have assured a crowd. The following year, 1876, the *Missoulian* indicated as much, "The bare announcement of his coming is sufficient to give him a full house."<sup>12</sup>

The Rev. Thomas E. Dickey traveled with Bishop Tuttle that summer. He tells of an experience while they were in Helena:

It was a common custom to close all the Protestant churches when the Bishop held services in any of the towns in Montana.

<sup>10</sup>Tuttle letters, *op. cit.*, letter of August 27, 1867.

<sup>11</sup>Montana State Historical Library, Helena.

<sup>12</sup>A partial file of the *Missoulian* is in the Missoula Public Library.

I was with him one Sunday in Helena in the summer of 1876, and noticed the Presbyterian minister at our service, and after the close of the service I said to him, "It's very kind of you sir, to give up your service because the Bishop is here." "It's no kindness at all," he replied, "my congregation would all go to hear the Bishop anyway, and I do not like to preach to empty seats."<sup>13</sup>

On October 12, 1871, at the General Convention in Baltimore, Tuttle had expressed his philosophy in dealing with people of other denominations in a message on the theme "*Speak the Truth in Love*"—

Another thing: Speak the truth in love, when we get into our fields. I have many and many a point in my field where Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists are helping. Thank God, I number many and many good friends, earnest followers, I think, of the Lord Jesus Christ—belonging to these denominations, in my field. Now, when you go among them, with them, especially as you may be the only Pastor there—I mean by "you" the representative of the Protestant Episcopal Church—for the Saviour's sake, for love's sake, for the sake of the best interests of the souls of those people, speak the truth. Do not compromise; do not be dishonest; be frank and plain and open and honest; speak the truth, but speak the truth in love.<sup>14</sup>

A little farther on in this same Baltimore address, he urged his fellow-bishops that in their fields they should be "teaching the truth effectually to those kind, good, religious, earnest people there, without throwing 'the Church' and 'the Church' and 'the Church' constantly at them in every single sermon you preach."<sup>15</sup>

The love of the people of Montana for Daniel Tuttle and his high regard for them is shown in a letter that is in the files of the Historical Society of Montana. It also gives us an insight into the way in which the frontier fostered a kind of a "pre-ecumenical" spirit.<sup>16</sup>

May 9, 1897

Mr. E. M. Gardner,  
"Committee on Invitation,"  
Bozeman, Montana.

My Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of your most kind letter of April 30th, inviting me to be present at the "Silver" Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Bozeman, to be celebrated on May 30 next.

<sup>13</sup>Dickey, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

<sup>14</sup>*Spirit of Missions* (December 1871), p. 617.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Historical Society of Montana—Contributions* (Helena, 1907), Volume VI, p. 319.

You have introduced a phrase in your letter which goes to my heart. You say, "One of our members recently said, we always looked upon Bishop Tuttle as the people's Bishop and felt that he was one of us."

First, let me thank you and the people of your church most heartily for thinking of me and asking me to come. Most sincerely I wish I could come out and be with you, but urgent duties at home utterly preclude.

Next, let me try to tell you how, as I sit down of a Sunday afternoon to write this letter, my mind and memory travel over past years and place me in thought in Bozeman again.

I first entered Bozeman from Virginia City at the end of June, 1868, and stayed nearly a week at Tom Coover's house near the mill. On Sunday morning, July 5th, I preached in the building which did service as a "Union Church" and a "Court House." Through the week a famous trial before Judge Hosmer had been going on, wherein I think Col. Sanders and Col. Thoroughman were in their usual positions of opposing counsel. Leg-furnished slabs were seats. Sawdust of sufficient thickness to help mother earth to decent concealment of generous expectorations made the floor. Almost nobody of my own Prayer-Book Church was there. But all, whether born or bred Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist or Roman Catholic, joined in and helped me carry the service through. And all, miners, ranchmen, lawyers, witnesses, traders and sporting men took a hand in making the collection liberal and large.

This statement is typical of all early preaching services in Montana. Everybody helped. Everybody was kind. And I, in turn, tried to call on everybody, meet everybody as I came around.

God bless all the dear kind generous friends of those days! Tears of gratitude will not keep back when the loving message is now sent on to me, "We always looked upon Bishop Tuttle as the People's Bishop."

And now all humbly I beg to commend you and your brethren to God's grace and Christ's love and the Holy Spirit's guidance. By whatever ways of His appointment may He bring us all HOME with Him at last.

Faithfully and gratefully yours,  
DAN'L S. TUTTLE  
*Bishop of Missouri*

The Idaho newspapers spoke in much the same way as the Montana ones of the high regard that was held for the bishop. In the *Idaho World*, the weekly of the roaring mining town, Idaho City, Tuttle's preaching and its effect on the people is aptly described, "His eloquence

stirs up what little religious sentiment there is in any mining community."<sup>17</sup>

There is in the State Museum at Boise a panel of small photographs of Idaho City's leading citizens. This had hung for many years in one of the saloons of the now defunct placer mining town. Among these pictures is one of Tuttle. Even though he only visited the community for a few days each year, he was thought of as one of Idaho City's leaders.

Daniel Tuttle was an authority on all modes of travel in the West of his day. He often rode horseback between towns. He would try to get a mount small enough so that both his long legs would almost reach the ground. The little children would run out to meet the black-clad figure as he approached.<sup>18</sup>

One day he was driving a one-horse rig between Challis and Bonanza, Idaho. He met a Methodist preacher who was newly arrived and evidently did not know the bishop. The latter addressed the newcomer thus, "Well, my friend, how is it that you drive two horses, and I have only one?" "Well," replied the stranger, "you are probably a one horse preacher." Undoubtedly Tuttle told this story many times on himself. It comes to us from Carrie Strahorn in her *15,000 Miles by Stagecoach*.<sup>19</sup>

Mrs. Lula Huffman of Moscow, Idaho, tells of the days when her father operated a stage station at Fort Lemhi in southeastern Idaho. How they looked forward to the day when Bishop Tuttle came through! Much of his influence on his vast field was exerted on occasional stops at lonely stage stations and isolated homesteads.

Chief Tendoy, a friendly Indian, would come over to the station with his family. They would all get out to watch for the arrival of the stage. Finally a white cloud of alkali dust would appear in the distance. The stagecoach would come into sight and pull up to a stop, horses lathered, driver shouting. Out would step the bishop. He would shake his linen duster, then he would place his hands under his long whiskers and vigorously shake the white dust out of them. He would then turn and greet the crowd. Chief Tendoy would bow with dignity; Daniel Tuttle would return the bow with equal dignity. Then all

<sup>17</sup>September 1, 1870. There is a file of the *Idaho World* in the Idaho State Historical Museum, Boise.

<sup>18</sup>A reminiscence of the people of Dillon, Montana, passed on by Mrs. William Schnell, formerly of that city.

<sup>19</sup>(New York, 1911).

would go inside the station and eat. The meal over, off would go the stage with another cloud of alkali dust following it out of sight.

The bishop traveled thousands of miles by stagecoach, and knew most of the drivers intimately. They liked him, and some of them corresponded with him for years. They called him the "Star Weno Man" ("weno" being their pronunciation of the Spanish word for *good, bueno*). The gamblers called Tuttle the "Star Gospel Sharp."<sup>20</sup>

He learned to sleep even in the rocking, bumping stagecoach. Thomas E. Dickey was traveling from Salt Lake City to Bozeman in 1875, expecting to meet the bishop on the stage going the other way.

"One night, a little after midnight, we met a stage that was just ready to start from the station after changing horses, and I asked the driver if Bishop Tuttle was on that stage. He replied, 'There's a fellow curled up in the bottom of the stage asleep; but I don't know who he is.' I said, 'Will you please ask if it is Bishop Tuttle?' He opened the door and called out, 'Is Bishop Tuttle in the stage?' The bishop roused up and jumped out. He had really learned from his long stage rides to sleep in any position he might be placed on a stagecoach."<sup>21</sup>

Alexander Toponce owner and operator of one of southern Idaho's stage lines, had an experience while riding in a coach from Helena, Montana, to Salt Lake City. This picture illustrates something of the secret why Daniel Tuttle exerted such an influence in his far flung field:

In traveling about the west I frequently met Bishop Tuttle of the Episcopalian Church. He was a real pioneer and expected to rough it along with the rest.

I recall one trip I made on the stage from Helena to Salt Lake. There were about ten passengers and among them were two girls from a dance house in the mining camps, tough as hickory and hard as bull quartz.

I was interested from the start in the Bishop's attitude toward them. He talked to them as if they had been queens in disguise, not a word of preaching, no "holier than thou" talk, just plain every-day American.

They had to act the part of perfect ladies, because the Bishop expected them to. When we reached Salt Lake, one of them asked me, "Where is the church where he preaches? I am going to hear him next Sunday, if I have to crawl on my hands and knees to get there."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Thomas Donaldson, *Idaho of Yesterday* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941, used by special permission) p. 62.

<sup>21</sup>Dickey, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

<sup>22</sup>Alexander Toponce, *Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce* (Salt Lake City, 1923,) p. 244.



The only Episcopal church that was in existence in Idaho Territory when Tuttle first came west in 1867 was the one at Boise, St. Michael's. His brother-in-law, G. D. B. Miller, came out with him to become rector at Boise. The bishop made a yearly visit. During this visit he traveled out of Boise to the placer mining towns of Idaho City and Silver City. These are now both ghost towns. In the later years of his Western ministry, he would also go out to Hailey, Ketchum, Salmon, and other incipient cities, many of them still incipient. One of the most vivid pictures of Bishop Tuttle on a visit to Boise is given by Thomas Donaldson, an Idaho old-timer:<sup>23</sup>

An event to which we looked forward was the annual visit of Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, bishop of the Episcopal Church. Everyone who had ever heard him traveled miles to hear him speak again; those who had never heard him were eager to meet him. He came unostentatiously, performed his duties with remarkable energy and thoroughness, and departed as quietly as he had come. He had a surprising hold upon our people but he obtained it apparently without effort; in the pulpit or in the home he was entirely devoid of sensationalism. . . .

My first meeting with Bishop Tuttle was in the autumn of 1869. I heard of his arrival in Boise and at once went to the home of his brother-in-law, the Rev. G. D. B. Miller, rector of St. Michael's. Mr. Miller was not there, so I walked toward his church. I met Miller, and he led me to the rear of the building and called to a man busily digging a cellar—a cellar, evidently, for an addition to the church was to be made. The digger was a man of six feet in height and with whiskers of the style the English call "Piccadilly Weepers." A tam-o'-shanter hat lolled on his head. With shovel in hand, he leaped from the hole and smiled at me.

"Bishop Tuttle," said Mr. Miller, "this is Mr. Donaldson, who has come to pay his respects."

"Glad to meet you, Mr. Donaldson," smiled the bishop. It was a hearty handshake he gave me, and then he chatted briskly for fifteen minutes. I said good-by, and Bishop Tuttle jumped into the hole and commenced digging again. I formed my opinion of him right then and there and never had reason to change it. I reasoned that if a bishop of a silk-stocking church could, and was willing, to handle a shovel in a public place he would certainly be able to touch the hearts of his people; sincerity and common sense made him outrank any churchman in the territory.

William Flannigan, an Irish laborer, was working in the same cellar, and he said to me afterward, "Whin he come an

<sup>23</sup>Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

the jab, Oi tought as he were a tinderfut jist arrove. But whin Oi seen him trow mud wid his shovel, Oi knowed he were an auld hand! Whin Oi were told he were a bishop, Oi trowed up me hands an' says Oi, 'What a waste fer to make a bishop out av a foine shoveler loike thot! He cud boss a hundred shovelers!' Yez kin git foine preachers ivery day in the wake, but foine shovelers is few an' far bechune. It's a great waste av flesh!"

In 1868, while in his first year in Montana, Bishop Tuttle had received the following telegram from St. Louis, "You were unanimously elected Bishop of Missouri on first ballot."<sup>24</sup> He declined that call. On May 27, 1886, he received a second call to become bishop of Missouri. After much anguish of mind, he accepted the call. His *Reminiscences* tell of the difficult time he had making the decision. He was on his annual visitation of Idaho when the letter arrived, upon receipt of which he became officially the third bishop of Missouri. He was in Soda Springs in southeastern Idaho. He went on to Hailey and Ketchum and in the latter town wrote his letter of farewell to the people of Idaho. It appeared in the pages of the *Ketchum Keystone* as follows:<sup>25</sup>

TO THE PEOPLE OF IDAHO

DEAR FRIENDS:—I had published my usual list of appointments among you for this year, and entered upon the pleasand duty of meeting them, when notice came to me that on May 26th I was elected by the clergy and laity of the diocese of Missouri to be their bishop. This election pressed upon me a question which it has given me grave anxiety to decide. On the one hand the diocese of Missouri has now repeated a call which it first made to me eighteen years ago. And it is a large populous and important field, where much hard work is needed to be done in planting and nurturing the church. On the other hand, I thought and said, "How can I leave the mountain people whom I know well, and who have grown up into the church around me?" So I was torn in heart and mind, by conflicting considerations. But I could not see the way clear to decide as I wanted and stay. And on June 16th I wrote to the standing committee of Missouri, that in case the canonical consents of the bishops and standing committees of the United States are forthcoming I accept the bishopric of Missouri, and will be ready to take charge of the diocese as soon as the change can well be made.

Therefore, with a heart full of regret, I am obliged to cancel many of my appointments in your Territory. Probably

<sup>24</sup>Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, op. cit., p. 467.

<sup>25</sup>July 24, 1886. A file of the *Ketchum Keystone* is in the library of the University of Idaho.

by September 1st I ought to assume my new charge. I can only venture to promise to fulfill the following appointments: Ketchum, Sunday, July 25th; Lewiston, Sunday, August 1st. All others of my preceding list are withdrawn.

Dear friends, forgive me my seeming lack of fidelity. My heart does not go away from you. My loving and grateful memories of all your kindness of the years that are past are deep and lasting. I am sad that I have not done more for the Master among you.

Stand steady, I entreat you, to the principles which I have tried to preach to you for these nineteen years of happy intercourse. It is keen sorrow for me to say good-bye. God bless and guide you all.

Faithfully and affectionately yours,  
DAN'L S. TUTTLE,  
*Bishop of Utah and Idaho.*

It has been the purpose of this paper to give a picture of Daniel Sylvester Tuttle at work among the mountain people. He endeared himself to them as did few other official representatives of the Christian faith. The words in the above quoted Bozeman letter sum up their feeling, "We always looked upon Bishop Tuttle as the people's bishop and felt that he was one of us." He wept with them, laughed with them, worked with them, traveled with them, and worshipped with them. They still remember him, and we as historians must preserve that memory.

# The Election of Benjamin T. Onderdonk as Fourth Bishop of New York

By Walter H. Stowe

**I**T is difficult for us, almost four generations later, to comprehend the shock and the grief which the death of John Henry Hobart on September 12, 1830, inflicted upon the Episcopal Church. Hobart, born on September 14, 1775, was only two days short of being fifty-five years old, and had appeared to be still in his prime.

Eight months later, in his address to the convention of the diocese of New Jersey, on May 25, 1831, Bishop John Croes<sup>1</sup> said:

"If we look also to the state of our Church, as it exists throughout the United States, of which the Church in this Diocese is but a small part, we shall find its prosperity continually increasing. It has, however, within the last year, seriously been interrupted by an event in no common degree painful and discouraging; an event which not only overwhelmed with grief and regret the Church in a neighbouring Diocese; but indeed extended throughout our whole communion.

"It was to be expected that whenever a Bishop of such distinguished piety, talents, and usefulness, as the late Bishop Hobart, should be removed from the scene of his extensive and indefatigable labours, the Church, more particularly under his care, would manifest in the strongest terms, and with the liveliest emotions, the great loss they had sustained; but seldom has it occurred that so deep and so general a grief has been shewn as that which actually took place on that mournful, that afflictive event. Nothing could so powerfully exhibit the high sense entertained of his talents, piety and zeal, and of the immense loss sustained by the Church in his death, as the almost

<sup>1</sup>JOHN CROES (June 1, 1762-July 26, 1832), pronounced *Cruze*, was the first bishop of New Jersey, 1815-1832. He was the son of Polish immigrants, and was a convert to the Church. His entire ministry was spent in New Jersey, first in Swedesborough, 1790-1801, and then for the rest of his life as rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick. He was the principal leader, both as priest and bishop, in raising the Church in New Jersey out of its post-Revolutionary weakness. [See W. S. Perry, *The Bishops of the American Church* (New York, 1897), p. 37; W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1859), V, 378-383; John N. Norton, *Life of Bishop Croes of New Jersey* (New York, 1859), pp. 210.]

universal burst of grief and sorrow that broke forth on the occasion.

"Measures, however, were put into operation as soon as this afflictive event would permit, to supply that large and distinguished Diocese with an ecclesiastical Head. The result has been, I am happy to say, very auspicious. A worthy and competent successor to Bishop Hobart, the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., has been elected, and with a harmony and Christian spirit which do credit to the Church in that Diocese."<sup>2</sup>

Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk (July 15, 1791-April 30, 1861)<sup>3</sup> was elected "with great unanimity" on the first ballot as the fourth bishop of New York at the diocesan convention on October 8, 1830. Charles Wells Hayes<sup>4</sup> presents ample evidence of this "great unanimity." He quotes the resolution which was "passed unanimously that the Convention should unite on the following morning in a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for the harmony and good feeling which had prevailed, and for the prompt and happy decision of the important question of the election of a Bishop."

Hayes also states that Bishop Brownell of Connecticut, one of the co-consecrators, preached the sermon at Onderdonk's consecration, but that, after the "laying of hands," Bishop White made a "brief address of strong commendation of the character and work of Bishop Hobart," and "congratulated the Diocese on the choice of a successor"—and, then, quoting Bishop White's own words—

"to whose merit it cannot but be a powerful testimony, that *he* is the *individual* on whom the deceased Bishop would have wished the choice to fall; a fact, known to him who now affirms it" (i. e., known to Bishop White).<sup>5</sup>

But the *Journal* of the diocese of New York gives no inkling as to how unanimous the election was, or whether there were any other nominations, or what was the actual voting on the first and only ballot. This missing information has only recently come to light through the re-

<sup>2</sup>Diocese of New Jersey, *Journal*, 1831, p. 10. It is strange that Bishop Croes does not mention Onderdonk's having been consecrated on November 26, 1830, by Bishops White, Brownell of Connecticut, and H. U. Onderdonk, assistant bishop of Pennsylvania and Benjamin's brother. It was on a Friday, in St. John's Chapel of Trinity Parish, New York.

<sup>3</sup>See E. Clowes Chorley, "Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk . . ." in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IX (1940), 1-51; Walter H. Stowe, "Bishop Onderdonk's Account of the Growth of the Church in New York State," *ibid.*, XVII (1948), 44-59; W. S. Perry, *op cit.*, p. 55; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 38-39.

<sup>4</sup>Charles W. Hayes, *The Diocese of Western New York: History and Collections* (Rochester, 1904), pp. 84-85.

<sup>5</sup>Hayes quotes this from the *Christian Journal*, XIV, 376. *Italics* as in Hayes.

searches of the Rev. Julien Gunn, O. H. C., in connection with his forthcoming biography of Bishop Hobart; and we are indebted to him for it. He found it among the Samuel R. Johnson Papers, in the library of the General Theological Seminary, New York City. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson (d. August 13, 1873), had been ordered deacon as recently as 1824, and was one of the early graduates of the General Seminary—in its second class, 1823. He was to serve five years later than this letter, from which we are about to quote, under Bishop Kemper in Indiana, and from 1850 until 1869 he was to be professor of Dogmatic Theology in his *alma mater*. Writing to Miss Mary Johnston, October 9, 1830, he gives the following record of the balloting:

	Clerical	Lay
ONDERDONK, Benjamin T. ....	52	56
WAINWRIGHT, Jonathan Mayhew <sup>6</sup> .....	21	16
DELANCEY, William Heathcote <sup>7</sup> .....	8	12
ANTHON, Henry <sup>8</sup> .....	6	7
BROWNELL, Thomas Church <sup>9</sup> .....	1	0
REED, John <sup>10</sup> .....	1	0
CREIGHTON, William <sup>11</sup> .....	1	0
MCILVAINE, Charles P. <sup>12</sup> .....	0	1

The accuracy of this record is confirmed to this extent: Hayes states that "it is also worthy of note that though Bishop Hobart's successor was elected 'with great unanimity,' *some* votes both of Clergymen and Laymen were given for William Heathcote DeLancey." His authority for that statement was the testimony of Mr. Henry E. Rochester, a layman who was a member of the convention of 1830 and who gave it at the semi-centennial celebration of the diocese of Western New York in 1888.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup>JONATHAN M. WAINWRIGHT (Feb. 24, 1792-Sept. 21, 1854) was at the time of the election rector of Grace Church, New York City. On November 10, 1852, he was consecrated as provisional bishop of New York, and two years later died as such. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 316-317; W. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 121.]

<sup>7</sup>WILLIAM HEATHCOTE DELANCEY (Oct. 8, 1797-April 5, 1865), was at the time of the election provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 1828-1833. Before and after those dates, he was Bishop White's first assistant minister in the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia. He succeeded Bishop White in the rectorship. On May 9, 1839, DeLancey was consecrated first bishop of Western New York. [See G. Sherman Burrows, "Bishop William H. DeLancey," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, V (1936), 267-285; W. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, 77; *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 215-216.]

<sup>8</sup>HENRY ANTHON (March 11, 1795-January 5, 1861), studied for orders under Bishop Hobart, and until after Hobart's death was considered a Hobartian high



Even so, Onderdonk's election was most impressive. Out of a total of 90 clerical votes cast on this one ballot, he received 52—a clear majority of 57.7 per cent; out of a total of 92 lay votes cast, he received 56—a clear majority of 60 per cent. In very few episcopal elections is the result so decisive on the first ballot.

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churchman. Ordered deacon, September 29, 1816; ordained priest, May 27, 1819. In 1819, he married Emilia, daughter of Joseph Corr  of New York. After serving in Red Hook, New York, 1816-1819, he removed to South Carolina largely for reasons of health. In 1821, he became rector of Trinity Church, Utica, New York; St. Stephen's Church, New York, 1829-1831, of which he was rector at the time of this episcopal election. Assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, 1831-1836. Rector of St. Mark's in the Bowery, 1836 until his death.

During the 1830's, Anthon became an evangelical, and in 1843, openly in the church where the ordination took place, opposed the ordination of Arthur Carey by Bishop Onderdonk. [See Manton Eastburn, "Memoir," in *Tributes to the Memory of the Rev. Henry Anthon, D. D.* . . . (New York, 1862.)]

<sup>9</sup>THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL (Oct. 19, 1779-Jan. 13, 1865), third bishop of Connecticut, 1819-1865. Translation of diocesan bishops was then as now forbidden in the American Church. Was the clergyman who cast the one vote which Brownell received ignorant of that fact? [See W. A. Beardsley, "Bishop Brownell," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, VI (1937), 350-369; *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 171-172; W. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, 45.]

<sup>10</sup>JOHN REED (died, July 6, 1845, aged 68) was ordained deacon, May 27, 1806, and priest sometime between October 1807 and October 1808, by Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York. He served St. Luke's Church, Catskill, New York, 1806-1809, and in 1810 he became rector of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, and continued as such until his death.

<sup>11</sup>WILLIAM CREIGHTON (Feb. 22, 1793-April 23, 1865) was a graduate of Columbia College, 1812. On July 10, 1814, he was ordained deacon, and in March, 1817, priest. At the time of Onderdonk's election, Creighton was rector of St. Mark's Church, New York, 1817-1836. Rector of Zion Church, Greenburgh, New York, 1836-1847; Christ Church, Tarrytown, New York, 1836-1865. In the first diocesan convention following Bishop Onderdonk's suspension by the House of Bishops, Creighton was elected president and served in that capacity for eight years, 1845-1852. In 1851, the New York convention chose him as provisional bishop, but on December 27th he formally declined the election. [See C. Rankin Barnes, "The General Convention: Offices and Officers, 1785-1949," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVIII (1949), 156-157; also, *same author, same title*, Church Historical Society Publication No. 33 (Philadelphia, 1951), pp. 60-61.] Creighton was president of the House of Deputies, the General Convention, in 1853, 1856, and 1859.

<sup>12</sup>CHARLES P. MCILVAINE (Jan. 18, 1799-March 13, 1873) was rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, at the time of Onderdonk's election. On October 31, 1832, he was consecrated as second bishop of Ohio. [See W. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 65; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 64-65; George F. Smythe, *History of the Diocese of Ohio* . . . (Cleveland, 1931), esp. Chapters XV-XXXVII.]

<sup>13</sup>C. W. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 85, 85n.

# The Maryland Diocesan Library

By Nelson W. Rightmyer\*



AMONG the more important, but less well known, treasures of the Diocese of Maryland is its Diocesan Library, housed for more than twenty years at the Peabody Library building at 17 East Mt. Vernon Place in the city of Baltimore.

In 1871, the trustees of the Episcopal Fund reported to the diocesan convention that the Bishop of Maryland, William Rollinson Whittingham (December 2, 1805-October 17, 1879) had offered to donate for the use of the bishops of Maryland his collection of books amounting to 10,000 volumes with the understanding and agreement that, as far as possible, the library should be secured forever as a permanent trust. This gift was gratefully accepted by the convention which authorized the trustees of the Episcopal Fund to enter into such agreements and stipulations as were deemed proper to secure the use of the library to the Bishop of Maryland and his successors forever.

The Whittingham Collection was indeed a valuable gift. Bishop Whittingham had been professor of Church history at the General Theological Seminary before coming to Maryland, and his taste in books was that of a scholar. Some of the more rare books which will be mentioned belong to this collection. Bishop Whittingham died during the sessions of the diocesan convention of 1879, and his books then came into the possession of the diocese. Then in 1896 Miss F. A. Dalrymple gave the library of her brother, the Rev. Dr. Edwin A. Dalrymple, consisting of about 8,000 volumes, to the diocese. In accepting this gift, the diocesan convention agreed to "the further condition that the collection be kept always distinct, and never be allowed to go out of the Diocese."

A third collection forming the Diocesan Library was almost lost to the Church. In 1855, Bishop Whittingham in his convention address noted that the Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, for many years historiographer of the diocese, had collected over many years some 2,180 items of Maryland documents, mostly manuscripts, ordination certificates, and diaries, which he offered to give to the diocese on condition that a suitable building be erected to house them. The convention agreed

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to do so, but by 1870 had failed to fulfill its part of the agreement. The documents had reverted to Dr. Allen, but a group of interested people raised five hundred dollars and bought them for the diocese. The report of the committee concluded,

"The entire collection thus preserved (through the liberal gifts of the contributors) from dispersion and loss, is now, in their name, offered to the Convention of the Diocese of Maryland, for the use of all who may desire to consult it under the direction of the Committee on Diocesan Records."

Two other collections make up the library: (1) the *Lending Department*, consisting of several thousand volumes which were acquired through gifts of the Rev. Jacob Asbury Regester and J. Harry Deems, and also through purchase; and (2) the *Diocesan Records*, which consist of both diocesan and parish records of untold value to the history of the Church in Maryland.

The library now consists of about 32,000 volumes and numerous manuscripts. Some of the more choice items in the library are of tremendous interest and value. For the student of American history, the library proves to be a gold mine for research. In 1747, the Rev. William Stith,\* president of William and Mary College, published *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*. His work was based on the records preserved by Captain John Smith, and also upon the valuable collection of historical material collected by his uncle, Sir John Randolph. Although it covers only the period prior to 1624, it is detailed and accurate. The library copy is a first edition, and with the exception of the title page, is perfect. A copy of this work was recently offered in the second edition for \$125.

The library also has an Aitken, or Congressional, Bible—the only Bible published in America during the Revolution. Only thirty-two copies of this Bible are known to exist, and in 1891 copies in poorer condition than the one in the library were being sold for as much as \$650.00. I mention these prices only to give some idea of the value of the collection owned by the diocese.

*The Proposed Book of Common Prayer of 1785*, which so emasculated the liturgy that the English bishops refused to approve it, is represented in four copies, one of which is quite rare. This is the edition reprinted for J. Debrett, Piccadilly, 1789; the edition was limited to fifty copies.

\*For WILLIAM STITH (1707-1755), see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 34-35.

Not only students of American history will be interested in this library, but also students of any age of Church history. Seven editions of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, the lists of books which members of the Roman Catholic Church are forbidden to read without special permission, are found in the library, beginning with the edition of 1586 and ending with that of 1819. Works of Aeneas Silvius, later Pius II, Malancthon, Cranmer, Luther, Erasmus, are all represented in early editions. A primer of 1542 in English and Latin represents the beginnings of the Reformation in England. The only edition of Nicephorus' *Ecclesiastical History* to be printed in Greek is represented by a volume which was once the property of Louis XIV of France. This interesting volume was printed from the only extant MS which, after being stolen by a Turkish soldier from the Library of Buda, was sold by him to the Christians of Constantinople, and finally reached its resting place in the Imperial Library in Vienna.

The books I have mentioned represent only a few of the more interesting and rare items in the collection. Students of any phase of Church history, in search of the more hard-to-find items on their bibliographies, will do well to consult this little known, but valuable, collection.

## Book Reviews

### 1. American Church History and Biography

*The American Church of the Protestant Heritage.* Edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York, Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 481. \$6.00.

Dr. Ferm, head of the department of philosophy at Wooster College is establishing quite a reputation as the editor of anthologies, symposia, encyclopedias, and dictionaries, dealing with philosophical and religious subjects. The book under review is the ninth such which he has edited. He provides the editor's preface and himself contributes the very useful essay on "The Lutheran Church in America." Each of the other twenty contributors has intimate acquaintance "from the inside" of the particular group about which he is writing, either by way of long and sustained membership or by special studies, or by both. Though the expositions are chiefly historical and, in intent, factual and objective, each contributor has been free to make his own tempting observations and evaluations, and (we may add) has enhanced the interest of the book by so doing.

The denominations thus presented are, in order, the Moravian, Lutheran, Mennonite, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Reformed, Unitarian, Congregational and Christian, Baptist, United Presbyterian, Quaker, Mission Covenant, Church of the Brethren, Evangelical and Reformed, Methodist, Universalist, United Brethren, Seventh Day Adventist, Disciples of Christ, Church of Christ, and Church of God—in that order. The order presumably reflects the bias of the editor, with the Moravian Church placed first because it "is one of two Protestant bodies which antedate the Reformation, the other being the Waldensian Church." To be sure, Dr. Walter H. Stowe, editor of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, who contributes the essay on the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., makes it quite clear that the Anglican Communion has maintained unbroken continuity with the primitive Catholic Church brought to Britain probably in the third century. He goes on, however, to quote the late Dr. James Thayer Addison:

"'Anglicanism' is a result of the Reformation. It is the form which the Catholic Church in England took after it had been reformed in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth."

Since, therefore, 1534 may be set as a convenient date for the beginning of the English Reformation, when the Church of England became Protestant as well as Catholic, it is captious to quibble about Dr. Ferm's order.

In anticipation of the reader's possible disappointment that such groups as the Swedenborgians, Mormons, Salvation Army, Christian Scientists, and Jehovah's Witnesses are not included, Dr. Fern points out that they were included in his earlier symposium, *Religion in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1948). He expresses a regret which the reader will share, that he was unable to include the Pentecostal Churches, because he was unable to find in their group anyone "even slightly interested in writing the essay."

Churchmen will probably turn first to Dr. Stowe's essay on the Protestant Episcopal Church, and will not be disappointed to find therein a brilliant survey (in 31 pages, exclusive of Notes and Bibliography) of the relationship of this Church to the historic Church of the English race and to the worldwide Anglican Communion, and of its history from its feeble colonial beginnings down to the present, together with a brief concluding appraisal of its place in the contemporary religious scene and the distinctive values which it has to contribute to America and the world. "Perhaps," he observes, "its example of unity in diversity, its respect for authority combined with freedom of the individual, its doctrine of tension (i. e. in case of controversy, not splitting up into sects, but of waiting patiently for the Holy Spirit to reveal the truth) are three such values." This is admirably said, as well as the statement in the preceding paragraph: "To an Anglican, as to an American Episcopalian, the word *Protestant* is an adjective, signifying that the Church always stands under judgment and is always in need of reform."

There is much else in Dr. Stowe's essay that we should like to quote. We shall content ourselves with one other masterpiece of generalization:

"Although it is dangerous to simplify history, it is not unfair to say that the sixteenth century witnessed to the fact that *Ecclesia Anglicana*, as it was termed in the Magna Carta of 1215, was not to be dominated by Roman Catholicism; the seventeenth century, that it was not to be dominated by Calvinism; the eighteenth century, that outside of England, Wales, and Ireland, it was not to be dominated by the state; and the nineteenth century, that it was not to be dominated by any doctrine of Biblical infallibility."

We hope, however, that readers of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* will not content themselves with reading Dr. Stowe's essay, but will go on to read the others, with open mind and sympathetic heart. It goes without saying that they vary greatly in erudition, outlook, and insight, and few, if any, of them are comparable (in our confessedly biased judgment) to Dr. Stowe's contribution. But they are certainly most informative and enlightening. (We found those on the Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and Church of Christ especially so.) On the lower practical plane of "public relations," it behooves members of the Episcopal Church to have some understanding of why devout and sincere adherents of other religious bodies, who so often put us to shame by



their faith, their zeal, and their good works, think and act as they do. To use an expressive colloquialism, we ought to know "what makes them tick." And on the higher level of "approaches to unity," we cannot possibly get anywhere unless we study, analyze, and digest such data as are contained in this most interesting, and oftentimes fascinating volume.

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*The History of American Church Music.* By Leonard Ellinwood. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953. Pp. xiv, 274. \$6.00.

This is in a sense a pioneer work in its particular field. Many books and magazine articles have covered phases of American Church music, but no book has treated the subject so comprehensively, so impartially, so objectively, and so accurately as this one. Indeed, Dr. Ellinwood has exactly the right qualifications and is in a strategic position to write such a book. He is connected with the Library of Congress, and therefore has immediate access to much source material, both manuscript and printed; he is a clerical member of the staff of Washington Cathedral, and so is thoroughly familiar with the Church background; he is a scholar of ability, as shown in his editorship of *The Hymnal 1940 Companion* and other works of a specialized character in musicology.

It is refreshing and informative to have some notice taken of the music of the early 16th century Spanish settlers, and of the native music that developed from it. Likewise there is an account of the important contribution made by the various German pietistic sects of the 17th and 18th centuries. Much has been written in the past about Puritan psalmody, as well as the closely related Church psalmody, practically the only worship music of English-speaking Christians in the colonies for a century and a half. It is useful to have all of these strands set out in proper proportion and perspective.

The stories of the singing schools of the early 19th century, the quartet choirs of the latter half of that century, the development of boy choirs and choir schools, largely under the aegis of the Oxford Movement, are told in some detail. The common origin of the White and Negro spirituals is accepted, based on the researches of Dr. George Pullen Jackson, and at least a technical kinship to the undercover religious ballads of an earlier period is suggested. The use of musical instruments in worship is traced, particularly the development of organ building. The publication and dissemination of printed music, from the often comical results of the "lining out" process of the early days, through the period of the singing school and shape note books, to the

time of the modern hymnals, psalters, and octavo anthems and service music, is described. A very useful feature of the book for reference purposes is to be found in the succinct biographies of persons who have been outstanding in the composition and performance of religious music in America from the 18th century to the present day.

There are interesting lists showing changes in both organ and choir repertoire to illustrate improvement in taste, and a greater regard for liturgical propriety. But such lists apply principally to certain leading churches in urban centres having large musical budgets, and not to the thousands of smaller and medium sized churches throughout the land, nor indeed to a great many larger ones. In spite of improvement, there is still a long way to go before anything like a satisfactory standard is reached in the selection and rendition of the musical portions of Church services. Evidence of this in the matter of selection may easily be adduced from an examination of service leaflets, such as this reviewer receives in great number and variety from all over the country.

While this book covers all of the major phases of music as employed in American churches, it should be of particular interest to members of the Episcopal Church, who will learn from it about the disproportionately large share our Church has taken in the development and advancement of the art in this country. We share with the author the earnest hope that there may be many readers who "will not only find inspiration in this recitation of the manner in which our predecessors 'sang praises unto their God,' but also encouragement to 'sing unto the Lord a new song' in days to come."

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*The Polish National Catholic Church in America and Poland.* By Theodore Andrews. S. P. C. K. London. 117 pages. 12/6.

Intercommunion between the American Episcopal Church and the Polish National Catholic Church has existed since 1946, but an extensive account of this body in English has been wanting. Dr. Andrews, a priest of the Episcopal Church, upon coming in contact with a PNCC parish in Paterson, New Jersey, studied Polish in order to read the documents and history. His studies were awarded a Th. D. by the General Theological Seminary.

The Polish National Catholic Church was the result of an anti-hierarchical movement in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The chief factors were an intense sense of messianic nationalism (*Narodowy*) brought by the Poles to America and a desire for lay participation in the control of Church property. The Poles, politically depressed for centuries in Europe, had found in their Church the

sole continuous means of nationality. Carried to the United States, this came in conflict with an Irish-dominated Roman Catholicism. During the decade of the 1890's, there were three schismatic breaks in Polish communities: under Kozlowski in Chicago, under Kaminski in Buffalo, and finally under Francis Hodur in Scranton. All finally became amalgamated with the Hodur group to form the nucleus of the PNCC.

The Hodur break originated over property control. Hodur, a man of some learning combined with considerable organizational ability and zeal, gave the dissidents solid leadership. He personally appealed the case to Rome without success, was excommunicated in 1898, consolidated the various groups in 1904. In order to preserve the essential Catholic ministry, he obtained episcopal consecration on September 29, 1907, from the Archbishop of Utrecht of the European Old Catholics. This provided valid orders for his Church and the subsequent line of episcopate and priesthood derives from Bishop Hodur. The PNCC is the only valid Old Catholic Church in the United States. It came into intercommunion with the Episcopal Church in 1946 as a result of general Anglican intercommunion with European Old Catholics of the Utrecht Union.

Since 1907, it has grown gradually in the Polish communities in New England, the Mid-Atlantic states, Chicago, and Wisconsin. It is organized into four dioceses comprising 250,000 communicants. Since 1919, it has maintained a flourishing mission work in Poland which survived World War II, but present information on this work is difficult to obtain. It has drawn to itself other dissident groups of non-Polish background, Lithuanians, Slovaks, and even Italians. Its importance in the United States is that it provides a center for non-papal Catholic groups of foreign origin that abandon Rome and for whom the Episcopal Church is racially, socially, and linguistically inappropriate.

In addition to the historical account, Dr. Andrews analyzes the doctrine, organization, and worship of the PNCC. The Church has revamped post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism. In its somewhat uneven individualistic departures from orthodoxy, it manifests the influence of one dominant personality, Prime Bishop Francis Hodur. Its basic doctrinal documents are: *Confession of Faith*, written by Hodur in 1913, which is required of candidates for confirmation and included in the liturgy on stated occasions; the *Eleven Great Principles*, written by Hodur in 1923; and the *Short Catechism*, written by Thaddeus Zielinski in 1936. The third document, written by a second generation theologian, reveals a stronger tendency toward orthodoxy. The three unusual features of the Hodurian system are: an overemphasis upon the human merits of Christ which seems to verge on Unitarianism; an apparent denial of the eternal character of hell and judgment which verges on Universalism; and a curious counting of baptism-confirmation as a single sacrament in order to include the hearing, reading, or preaching of the Word of God as a sacrament. It is obvious that each of these peculiarities is a personal reaction against Roman authoritarianism and a reassertion of the evangelical character of Christianity. A similar

tendency was observable in the formative period of the Filipino Independent Church in its nationalistic reaction against Rome. These doctrinal departures exist side by side with a vast inheritance of post-Tridentine ideas, practices, and customs. The sacrament of penance is obligatory for children; voluntary for adults. Hagiographical statuary and devotions are popular, although the theological emphasis is upon the saints as exemplars. It seems to be apparent that wider Anglican contacts may reorient Polish National Catholic teaching.

In the area of worship, the PNCC uses the Roman Mass in Polish translation. Into this have been inserted the use of the Hodur *Confession of Faith* as an alternate to the Nicene Creed, and some changes in the offertory prayers and Canon of the Mass to stress the spiritual feeding aspect of the sacrament and underemphasize the sacrificial character. Here again individualistic tendencies are noted. The ceremonial, the ecclesiastical decor, and the extra-liturgical devotions like Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament are all post-Tridentine.

In both doctrine and worship, the PNCC poses a baffling picture. Anglo-Catholics become somewhat hysterical at this combination of advanced ceremonial and rank heresy. Evangelicals become terrified after a first glance at the interior of a PNC parish church.

The organization of the PNCC is constitutional, deriving from Bishop Hodur's documents. The Church functions through parish meetings, diocesan synods, provincial synods, and a general synod, with lay participation at all levels. It is not unlike the Episcopal Church in this arrangement. It maintains a system of Church organizations, publications, and periodicals; Savonarola Seminary in Scranton; mission work in Poland. Until the death of Prime Bishop Hodur in 1950, the development of the Church's work was chiefly under his influence.

Dr. Andrews has written a fairly comprehensive sketch. His knowledge of Polish has enabled him to read documents inaccessible to most Anglicans. One is grateful to have his diagrams of constitutional organization and his complete translations in the Appendix of the PNCC liturgy and *Confession of Faith*. There is an extensive bibliography.

It is not, however, the definitive work on the subject. The discussion of the theological and sacramental deviations is superficial and lacks precision. He has caught the chief problems, but he does not write as a trained theologian. It is likewise apparent that Dr. Andrews' prognostications for the future are based upon conversations with PNCC clergy and not upon documents. He has grasped the mood of the Church at present and sensed its importance for the American scene.

The documentation is somewhat irregular for a doctoral thesis. There are casual references to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* for Polish background—somewhat tertiary authority. The footnote annotation occasionally refers to books without pagination (cf. pp. 4, 10, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 24, 48, 59). One is also irritated to find some footnotes consisting of chatty anecdotes (pp. 13, 14, 30, 80, 88). There are some statements for which obvious sources are not listed (pp. 12, 85, 90, 53, 89). Both footnotes and bibliography reveal inadequate bibliog-

raphical descriptions. For books not easily available to English readers and for American ecclesiastical publications not often accessible in Britain, the names of publishers are essential. These details impair the scholarly technique.

The style shows an unfortunate tendency towards overloaded complex sentences, with occasional peculiarities in pronominal reference. But in general the volume is readable and will open the field for fuller investigation in the future.

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*A Short History of the Diocese of South Carolina.* Foreword by George W. Williams.\* Dalcho Historical Society, Charleston, 1953. Pp. 189.

American Church history has tended to focus its eyes overmuch on certain localities, and to overlook others. This reviewer is frank to admit that although he has been studying the history of the Episcopal Church in America for twenty years, this history comes as something of a revelation. There is a careful treatment of the colonial period, during which the Church of England had in this colony something of the position of an established church. The clergy seem to have been devout, efficient, and free from the scandals which some historians assure us were characteristic of the Anglican clergy in the South. Commissary Garden, who functioned from 1726 to 1756, was an excellent disciplinarian, and kept matters well under control. The result was that in 1740 "forty-five per cent of the inhabitants of Carolina were Episcopalians." During this period, a notable work was done in Christianizing the Negro population.

In spite of the fact that, of twenty priests in this colony at the outbreak of the Revolution, only five remained loyal to the crown, the Revolution was a great blow to Anglicanism in South Carolina. War raged back and forth through the colony; churches were destroyed, congregations dispersed, and a widespread distrust of all things English engendered. When the Church came to reconstruct itself after the calamity, one of the chief obstacles encountered was the anti-clerical feeling of the laity. Bishops were suspect, vestries over-tenacious of their rights, and the first bishop, Robert Smith, succeeded by being as little of a bishop as possible.

\*No author's name is given, but the Foreword states: "It is composed generally of selections from the published writings of members of the [Dalcho Historical] Society and of quotations from the Journals of Diocesan Conventions . . . Bishop Thomas and Bishop Carruthers have assisted in the preparation of the final chapters . . ."—*Editor's note.*

The rebirth of the Carolina Church dates from the episcopate of Theodore Dehon, 1812-19. While he is given fairly adequate treatment in this history, the reader who is really interested in this excellent bishop will do well to supplement the information here given by a reference to Dr. Chorley's *Men and Movements in the American Church*.

During the period between Revolution and Civil War, the Church in South Carolina grew, at first slowly, then at much greater speed. Two things stand out in the history of this period: the continued Christianizing of the Negro, and the large part played by South Carolina in the formation of the General Theological Seminary.

The Civil War, like the Revolution, brought disaster to the Church. Again we have the melancholy tale of churches destroyed, and work stopped by the ravages of war. A period of grinding poverty followed; most of the Negroes were lost to the Church; and once again the whole edifice had to be rebuilt without much straw. "No other Bishop of South Carolina has been confronted with such vexing problems as those that met Bishop Howe soon after he took his place." One of the touchiest of these problems was the status of the Negro clergy and laymen. At the convention of 1887, fourteen parishes withdrew from the convention in protest against the admission of colored clergy to seats in that body. But the threatened schism was ended by a compromise, and by 1900 all the withdrawing parishes had returned to unity.

The history of the diocese in the twentieth century is one of slow but steady growth, evidenced by the fact that in 1922 it was found necessary to divide the state into two dioceses.

The anonymous compilers of this work have made a real contribution to the history of the American Episcopal Church. But certain flaws must be noted. While the research is excellent, the style is pedestrian; and the editing is bad—there is no other word for it. The index—an essential in a work of this kind—is full and good. May other dioceses which lack such histories be inspired to follow the example of the Diocese of South Carolina!

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*Historic Philadelphia, from the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century. Papers Dealing with Its People and Buildings, with an Illustrative Map.* Edited by Luther P. Eisenhart (Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1953: *Transactions*, Vol. 43, part I). 330 pp. Paper, \$4.00; cloth, \$6.00.

According to the preface, the "Illustrative Map", drawn after extensive research by Grant Miles Simon, was the starting point of this



project, the essays having been planned originally to illustrate the map. The result is a valuable compendium of data about the historic buildings and institutions of Philadelphia. The educated visitor will find it much more interesting and informative than any guide book. For the serious student it provides a wealth of information concerning the setting of many important events of early American history.

The article of most interest to Church historians is that concerning Christ Church, St. Peter's and St. Paul's by Robert W. Shoemaker. Dr. Shoemaker has succeeded in compressing into a brief space a good many interesting facts about the first three Episcopal churches in Philadelphia. Tangential to Episcopal Church history is the account, by William L. Turner, of the first building of Philadelphia College (later the University of Pennsylvania), of which William Smith was the first provost.

Other papers of ecclesiastical interest are those on St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches (Roman Catholic), by Dennis C. Kurjack; on Quaker landmarks in early Philadelphia, by Edwin B. Bronner; on the Presbyterian churches of old Philadelphia, by Alexander Mackie; and on St. George's Church (Methodist), by Bishop Fred Pierce Corson. St. George's has at least an indirect interest for Episcopalians, as its first minister, Joseph Pilmore, became a clergyman of the Church and an early leader of the Evangelicals.

After Independence Hall (article by Edward M. Riley), the secular buildings of greatest national interest are: Carpenter's Hall, where the Continental Congress held some of its sessions (article by Charles E. Peterson); the home of the first Bank of the United States, the oldest bank building in the country, though not now used for banking (article by James O. Wettereau); Benjamin Franklin's house (article by Edward M. Riley); the dwelling at 190 High Street occupied by the first two Presidents of the United States (article by Harold Donaldson Eberlain); and the original building of the Pennsylvania Hospital, built in 1755 and still in use (article by Edward B. Krumbhaar).

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,  
Church Historical Society,  
Philadelphia.*

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*John McMillan, The Apostle of Presbyterianism in the West, 1752-1833.*

By Dwight Raymond Guthrie. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1952. Pp. x, and 296. \$3.00.

This volume will be of much value to every Presbyterian who is interested in the early history of his Church and its extension into the "West" of the day of which it treats. And it will be of great value to a far wider group of students and others who are interested in the history of the extension of American settlement and the implanting of ideals

of human freedom which began in 1776, when the Ohio River was the far western country.

The book is the story of a man's life against the background of his times. Because the man was a clergyman, and the story is that of a clergyman's life and work, the book has added value today. Our historians and our reading public are becoming more keenly aware of the importance of the religious background, and the very real and great part that religion has played in the developing life of American institutions.

This is especially true of that generation beginning in 1776 when Kentucky, Ohio and "The Illinois Country" were the far west into which new settlers were coming by the thousands and tens of thousands. Leaving as they did the conventions and customs of civilized life behind them as they took up life anew in the raw, they developed a goodly company of itinerant and itinerating preachers of the Gospel, whether Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist or Episcopalian, who went far and wide, preaching to many or to few as opportunity offered. They preached with all the fire of evangelical fervor, and declared the "Thus saith the Lord" of the prophet fighting for righteousness of life. And they developed the conscience of a growing community life. Men like John McMillan, the first of the "Four Great Presbyterian Horsemen," and John Corbley, the Baptist forerunner on the Monongahela River, Joseph Doddridge, the founder of ten Episcopal congregations, and the Methodist circuit-rider, were typical of a great company of men in that and the succeeding generations, to whom the American nation will always owe an undying debt of gratitude.

We, of the Episcopal Church, look sometimes with envious regret at the ability of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian itinerants to organize congregations, to develop them into presbyteries or associations or conferences, while the Episcopal itinerant was estopped by the very laws of his Church and his newly established General Convention from similar organization. Joseph Doddridge wept his heart out in longing and begging, year after year, for a bishop to come and confirm and take the lead in organization, but no bishop came. We unthinkingly sometimes wonder why Bishop White, or Bishop Claggett, or Bishop Madison did not go out into that country on missionary tours; but the canon adopted by the General Convention in those days when the Episcopal Church was finding itself forbade any bishop to officiate outside of his own state. Ohio received its first bishop in 1819, Kentucky in 1832, Illinois in 1835; and by that time the great Protestant Churches had become strongly established throughout all that country.

John McMillan was born at Faggs Manor, Pennsylvania, in 1752, received his primary schooling at two of the best known of the "Log Colleges," Faggs Manor and Pequea Academy, graduated at Princeton in 1772, and pursued a theological course at Pequea Academy. He grew up in the very heart of the emotional Evangelicalism of the New-side Presbyterians in the Great Awakening of that century, and his preaching was touched with that fervor all his life. He was licensed by Newcastle Presbytery in 1774, and went on three preaching and missionary

tours into western Pennsylvania and western Virginia. Called in 1776 to become the first settled pastor of Presbyterian congregations in the Ohio River section, he accepted, was ordained by his presbytery, and went out to a lifetime of ministry and service which lasted for fifty-five years. He took up his own farm land, three hundred acres, in an entirely new section, built his own log cabin, made his own furniture, cleared his ground for farming, and started his own little log college in his own home. He became a notable man in his whole section, a strong preacher and organizer and a leader in all the work of presbytery and synod which grew out of the labors of a likeminded group of clergymen who came to help in a growing cause. He was a leader in education, becoming a member of the boards of trustees which founded severally a Pittsburgh academy, a Canonsburg academy and a Washington academy. Washington Academy soon became Washington College, Canonsburg academy became Jefferson College, and McMillan was professor of divinity in that college for thirty years. Eventually, a generation after his death, these two merged and became the well-known Washington and Jefferson College of today.

The author attempts to classify McMillan's work under different headings, giving separate chapters to his preaching, his educational work, his service in presbytery and synod, and his political life as an earnest opponent, along with the other clergymen of the section, against the rebellious resistance to constitutional law of the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794; and finally a chapter on "his personality." The book is well documented and has a good bibliography and index. It has also an appendix of seventy pages of the *Journal* which McMillan kept nearly all his life. This appendix in itself will prove an original source of valuable material to students who seek to study the details of home and family life of that period.

G. MacLAREN BRYDON.

*Richmond, Virginia.*

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*Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist—A Study in Religious Liberalism.* By Ira V. Brown. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. IX, 303. \$5.00.

This well written, well documented study was the Frank S. and Elizabeth D. Brewer Prize Essay of the American Society of Church History for 1949. Mr. Brown has chosen Lyman Abbott as probably "the outstanding figure in the liberalizing movement" of American religion during the critical period of the late nineteenth century. Not himself in any sense an original scholar or trail-blazer, Lyman Abbott was essentially a popularizer who served to mold public opinion as he himself was being molded by the pressures of his time. "Study of his, long varied, and interesting career affords a panorama of American development for over half a century."

With a fine combination of sympathetic understanding and critical detachment, our author in a series of delightfully readable chapters portrays the orthodox New England background of his subject, the circumstances which led to his abandonment of the law for the ministry, and his Civil War pastorate in Terre Haute, Indiana, where he combined old-fashioned orthodox theology with pulpit identification of the Union cause with God and right.

Between 1865 and 1869, Abbott experienced disappointment and frustration as executive secretary of the American Union Commission (a short-lived organization for the rehabilitation of the South), and as pastor, 1867-9, of the New England Congregational Church in New York City. These experiences enabled him to find the vocation for which he was best suited—editorial work. He made his home in Cornwall-on-the-Hudson, residing there from 1869 until his death in 1922. He began contributing to *Harper's*, the *Independent*, the *Christian Union*, and other papers. He became a prolific writer of books. In 1871, at the request of the American Tract Society, he edited a new paper called the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*. This he discontinued in 1876, in order to join Henry Ward Beecher in the editorship of the *Christian Union*—later called the *Outlook*—which he edited until his death forty-six years later, and which “gave him his widest influence and his greatest claim to fame.”

We see Abbott as the loyal partisan of Mr. Beecher during the Tilton-Beecher trial in 1875. We see the development of his political and economic views, his concern (none too well informed) for the American Indian, his advocacy of “industrial democracy,” and his pastorate of Brooklyn’s Plymouth Congregational Church, as Beecher’s successor, from 1887 to 1899. Under his leadership Plymouth became not only the pulpit forum for its pastor’s growing concern for the social gospel and for evolutionary theology, but also one of the outstanding institutional churches of the metropolis. With his acceptance of the principle of evolution and of the findings of Biblical criticism, we see his theology gradually dissolving in “the acids of modernity” until it amounted to little more than a belief in Divine immanence, in the moral perfection of Christ, the preëminence of love, the brotherhood of man, the immortality of the soul, and the ultimate triumph of right over wrong. Always a strong partisan of the Republican Party, Abbott threw the *Outlook* enthusiastically behind Theodore Roosevelt’s “square deal” and progressivism, and persuaded Roosevelt to join the editorial staff of the *Outlook* after his retirement from the White House. During Wilson’s administration, Abbott rationalized, for Christian consciences, our participation in World War I, just as during McKinley’s administration he had found moral justification for the new imperialism. He early perceived America’s international obligations as a world power.

To sum up: our author has given us a discriminating and attractive picture of a high-minded and representative American liberal Protestant of the era which two world wars, a prolonged economic depression, the

cold war, the threat of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, the revival of the doctrine of original sin, and the rise of neo-orthodoxy are rapidly making as remote to the younger generation of today as the era of the Protestant Reformation. To those of us who are older, it revives many nostalgic memories.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

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*The Correspondence between Henry Stephens Randall and Hugh Blair Grigsby.* Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Frank J. Klingberg and Frank W. Klingberg (University of California Publications in History XLIII, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952). \$3.00.

The eighty-one letters printed in this moderately sized volume form a collection in the Huntington Library and were presumably acquired as a part of the vast Brock Collection of Virginia manuscripts in the late 1920's. Confined to the years 1856-1861, they relate chiefly to the three-volume *Life of Jefferson* published by Henry Stephens Randall on the eve of the Civil War.

Randall, the authorized biographer of Jefferson, was a New Yorker who in addition to his activities as a lawyer, Democratic politician, sheep raiser and tariff lobbyist, brought great talents to the field of historical writing. His correspondence with Grigsby, the outstanding Virginia historian of his generation, developed out of the mutual interest of both men in the great Virginia Democrat. Despite the contrasting personalities of the two correspondents—Randall was as boisterous and lively as Grigsby was reserved and sedate—a warm friendship developed between the two.

On Randall's side, the letters deal chiefly with his efforts to tap additional sources of information relating to his subject and—somewhat later—to secure a favorable reception for his opus in the South. Grigsby, concerned though he is to be of assistance, is at the same time anxious to set forth his own strong views on such questions as the authenticity of the Mecklenburgh Declaration, the humble origins of the Randolphs, or the merits of Wirt's biography of Patrick Henry.

The letters are of interest principally in that they illuminate some of the story behind the writing and publication of an important mid-nineteenth century biography. Especially are we made aware, as we must ever be, of the difficulties involved in writing about one whose life and thoughts have entered into the mainstream of American political controversy. That Randall indulged himself in partisan admiration for his subject is quite apparent. That his historical sense was unduly warped by his bias is not too evident.

Aside from their main theme of scholarly shop talk, the correspondents permitted themselves frequent diversion into more mundane matters—the state of their health, their families, the goings on in Virginia and New York, and personalities. Those interested in the Virginia scene will find much that is entertaining and enlightening in Grigsby's somewhat stilted missives. Surprisingly, and regrettably, there is far less discussion of politics than one might expect from two politically sensitive men who shared a deep alarm over the approach of the sectional crisis. Randall, for example, attended the fateful Charleston Convention of 1860, but makes no comment on it.

The editors have done a painstaking job in annotating the letters, conscientiously satisfying the reader's curiosity as to the identity of all names, places and events. The brief introduction is adequate to set the stage for what follows. This reviewer's chief reservation is that he can not be sure that the editorial labor was justified by the distinctly limited value of the subject matter in hand.

RICHARD P. McCORMICK.

*Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick, New Jersey.*

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*The Historiographer, 1953.* Edited by Walter H. Stowe (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1953), Vol. II, No. 3 (Lent, 1953) pp. 60. 50c.

This able publication always brings pleasure when it comes to the desk. The present issue shows an encouraging record of work and progress which we in our Church of England might well envy and try to learn from. The outstanding publication of the Historical Society is of course Dr. Brydon's second volume of his *Virginia's Mother Church*. Dr. Stowe, with his gift for statistics, gives a fascinating picture of the Church in the Middle West, concluding with these notable words: "The Episcopal Church must have more clergy with which to meet its responsibilities and to take advantage of its opportunities."

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,  
Oxford, England.*

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*Puritan Sage: Collected Writings of Jonathan Edwards.* Edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York, Library Publishers, 1953, pp. xxvii, 640; \$7.50.

In recognition of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Jonathan Edwards, the publication of this volume gives us a comprehensive picture of the mind of a great American preacher and philosopher. Beginning with a couple of juvenile essays, we then find seventy "Resolutions"



governing ethical principles, devotional practices, and methods of thought. Next comes a diary covering some twelve years of Edwards' young manhood, followed by a number of essays, lectures, and sermons. It might have been easier to place each item if the date and purpose of writing had been indicated in a footnote or sub-title. But this information is all provided in a scholarly introduction by the editor, as a preface to the whole volume.

Without question, Edwards was a tremendously influential figure in 18th Century America. His mind was vigorous, penetrating and competent. He commanded attention, and respect, but not affection. He was an unfortunate illustration of that logical consistency which cannot yield to considerations of mercy or tenderness. And therefore the influence of Edwards did not long survive his death. But here in this volume is a full and adequate presentation of his thought.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church Rectory,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*

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*Korean Adventure.* By Austin Pardue, the Bishop of Pittsburgh. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953. \$2.75.

In January and February, 1953, Bishop Pardue spent five weeks in Japan and Korea, at the invitation of the chief of chaplains of the U. S. Air Force. He preached six missions, each lasting three or four days, held many personal conferences, and administered confirmation on a number of occasions. He carried a portable dictating machine, used it whenever he had a free moment, and then sent the records by air-mail to his secretary in Pittsburgh who typed the material at once. In this way, the fresh observations and emotions of the day's experiences were quickly caught and set down. There was none of the slow and often painful task of writing out the full story from scribbled notes and blurred memories after a long interval of time. The historian is especially interested in the bishop's method, for here we have a fine demonstration of the way that modern techniques can make use of raw material while it is still fresh.

Further, let us say that the bishop's story is told with warmth, reverence and true sympathy. He loved the men whom he met; we feel sure that they loved him. Although this book covers only five weeks instead of fifty years, it reminds us of John Wesley's *Journals* in its vigorous movement and earnest devotion to the cause of the Kingdom.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church Rectory,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*

## PARISH HISTORIES

## 1.

*St. Luke's Episcopal Church* [Salisbury, North Carolina], 1753-1953.  
By William S. Powell. The Parish, Salisbury, N. C., 1953. Pp.  
viii, 76. Paper, \$1.00.

St. Luke's early years furnish a case history in the weakness of the North Carolina establishment, for it was founded in a county where a majority of the eligible voters were dissenters. Its revival after the Revolution provides an example of early Lutheran-Anglican cooperation. The Rev. Robert Johnston Miller, who helped to awaken the Church in western North Carolina, being unable to obtain episcopal ordination, accepted Lutheran orders with the express understanding that he and his followers would unite with the Episcopal Church whenever it was revived in the state. Mr. Powell has compressed a good deal of interesting information into a brief narrative, though he has rather slighted the latest period, an opposite weakness to that found in many parish histories.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,  
Church Historical Society,  
Philadelphia.*

## 2.

*An Historical Note* [of St. Bartholomew's Church, Hempstead, Texas].  
By Frank MacDonald Spindler. Pp. 4.

This folio sketch of the history of St. Bartholomew's Church in Hempstead, Texas, written by its rector since April 16, 1950, is reprinted from the introductory matter in the parish book of remembrance. In two pages Father Spindler succinctly sketches the establishment by the Rev. William Tucker Dickinson Dalzell, M. D., D. D., rector of Christ Church, Houston, of a mission in Hempstead in the summer of 1858, shortly after the construction from Houston to that place of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad and its history to the present. Hempstead, founded in March, 1857, by the president and some of the directors of the railroad company as a private speculation, quickly boomed as a railroad terminus, and shortly afterwards it became a railroad junction when the Washington County Railroad Company was built from its limits to Brenham. The last two pages of the folio are devoted to a list of the clergy who have served the congregation during its ninety-five year history.

ANDREW FOREST MUIR.

*Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico,  
San Germán.*

## AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES

Edited by DuBOSE MURPHY, *Associate Editor*

*Church History*, March, 1953, offers a study of "The Authenticity of Hooker's Book VII" by H. F. WOODHOUSE of Wycliffe College (pp. 3-7). Recognizing the value of Canon Shirley's *Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas* (1949), Mr. Woodhouse will not go so far as to say "that it is difficult to accept as proven Canon Shirley's hypothesis that Gauden has tampered with Book VII." But he does admit the possibility that Book VII may have been edited or polished between Hooker's death in 1600 and the first publication of Book VII in 1662. "Hence we should be extremely chary about advancing any great claim on a theological or historical point based only on Book VII."

In the same number of *Church History*, there is an extended review of William Warren Sweet's *Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840* (Scribner's, New York, 1952) by SIDNEY E. MEAD (pp. 33-49). For many years students and writers in the field of American Church history were under the influence of secular historians. Such deference is "not necessary now—thanks in no small part to Professor Sweet's own work." Dr. Mead regrets the fact that the book under review seems to reflect a survival of this deference, with somewhat confusing results. Christian historiography has a real contribution to make in its own right and can afford to stand on its own feet.

J. G. deROULHAC HAMILTON contributes a charming study of "George Patterson, North Carolinian by Adoption" to the *North Carolina Historical Review*, April, 1953, pp. 191-199. While I was rector of Christ Church, Tyler, Texas (1930-1937), I heard many stories of the Rev. George Patterson, who had been a predecessor some fifty years before. Therefore I was much pleased to find this sketch by Dr. Hamilton, based largely upon personal reminiscences. Born a Greek, Papatthakas by name, he Americanized himself completely and called himself Patterson. He was one of those vital, unforgettable personalities who entertain as well as enrich those about them. A well beloved and most effective chaplain, with the Third North Carolina Infantry during the Civil War, he later served in Wilmington, North Carolina, before going to Texas. The last fifteen years of his life (1886-1901) were spent as rector of Grace Church, Memphis, Tennessee. He was also a frequent and welcome visitor at the University of the South Sewanee.

"Printing in Gambier, Ohio, 1829-1884," by WYMAN W. PARKER, appeared in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, January, 1953, pp. 55-66. The "Acland Press," as it was first called, named in honor of English benefactors, was one of the many projects of the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase. It published a weekly newspaper, *The Gambier Observer*, and the Kenyon College catalogue. Also, it was "called upon for the urgent printing of statements by both sides in a controversy between the bishop [Chase] and his faculty." In later years it was used by Bishops McIlvaine and Bedell for the publication of tracts, sermons and pastoral letters. But it did not have the resources, in type,

presses, etc., to meet the competition of printing establishments in the larger cities of Ohio.

Continuing his studies of the early Church organists and organs of Charleston, South Carolina, which were noticed in this department of *Historical Magazine*, March, 1953 ("Eighteenth Century Organists of St. Michael's, Charleston"), Mr. GEORGE W. WILLIAMS has an article on the organists of St. Philip's Church, Charleston, in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, January, 1953. Mr. Williams graciously sent to this editor reprints of two other articles: "Charles Frederick Moreau (1735-1784) Second Rector of St. Michael's, Charleston," from *Transactions of the Huguenot Society*, August, 1952, pp. 26-30; and an Introduction to Robert Mills' "Contemplated Addition to St. Michael's Church, Charleston," and "Doctrine of Sounds," from the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XII, 1. This last named item is of interest and value to all who recognize the importance of hearing as well as seeing in a church. In 1804, because of the growing number of Episcopalians in Charleston, the vestry of St. Michael's considered enlarging the church. Mr. Robert Mills, a well known architect, submitted not only the design and specifications for the addition but also an essay on the acoustics of the building with due consideration for both preacher and congregation. Mills' plans were never used and St. Michael's remains the same.

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## AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES

### PART II

BY DuBOSE MURPHY

From time to time, we have commented upon the increasing amount of attention given to the Church and other religious topics by secular historians. A recent instance of such is an article by Wallace K. Ferguson, "The Church in a Changing World: A contribution to the interpretation of the Renaissance," which appeared in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1953, pp. 1-18. One feature of the period called the Renaissance (the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries) was the change from an economy based upon land (i. e., feudalism) to one based upon money. The Church held a great deal of land, but this was scattered all over Europe in parcels of various sizes, and "the papal supremacy had been founded largely upon moral authority." "By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the increased circulation of money, together with the growth of new techniques of bookkeeping, banking, and exchange, had made possible an effective system of taxation in both Church and State." This resulted in a greater centralization of power and an improved administrative control through the hierarchy. Also, there followed from this new money economy a growth in lay education which was aided not only by the invention of printing but also by the creation

of a new class of men of leisure who had time to read. This essay treats of the Church during the Renaissance in a thoroughly competent and illuminating fashion. The experience of the Church interprets the whole Renaissance period.

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## II. English and General Church History

*Spiritual Authority in the Church of England: An Enquiry.* By Edward Charles Rich. New York. Longmans, Green and Co., 1953. Pp. xxiv, 218. \$4.50.

Canon Rich (canon emeritus of Peterborough) has written this "enquiry," feeling that it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the question of religious authority in this generation, and that the *Report of the Commission on Doctrine in the Church of England*, issued under the editorship of the late Archbishop William Temple in 1938, left the question in a state of suspended judgment. Convinced as he is that the Church of England stands for a liberal Catholicism, he holds that it is obvious that "party" differences in the Church have arisen because each of them is based upon a different conception of the source of authority to which appeal is made.

The book is divided into two parts, Part I being largely historical, and Part II elaborating the author's conclusions from the evidence.

The failure of the conciliar movement of the 15th century paved the way for the rise both of ultramontaniam and of the Reformation. The break with Rome under Henry VIII was an affair of state which raised no question as to the seat of authority in the Church's faith. As the Reformation proceeded, the divines and scholars of the Church of England, accepting the Catholic Faith as it had been handed down from the past, set to work for its purification by an appeal to Scripture and the Primitive Church, thereby taking up, after a lapse of many centuries, the method which the Church had used in the early centuries against the heretics of those times. Hooker as the spokesman for the Church against the Puritans, and Andrewes against the Papists, illustrate Paul Elmer More's argument that the Church of England revived the ancient and balanced attitude of the Church in refusing to be driven to accept either of the extremes of a doctrinal dilemma: "As in the Christology of Chalcedon, the middle way is not compromise; it is direction."

Chillingworth, with his emphasis upon Scripture and the free action of reason upon Scripture, paved the way for the rise of sectarianism and the subsequent ascendancy of deism and rationalism in the 18th century. Consequently, when the Tractarians made their appeal to antiquity and the primitive Church, it was a static appeal, vulnerable alike to Newman's insistence upon the living voice, which led to the doctrine of papal infallibility, and to that form of liberalism which insisted upon the relativity of knowledge and the progressive illumination and understanding of the mind of man.

To our author, the question of authority in the Christian faith is bound up with its claim to be *the* revelation of God. The antithesis drawn by Auguste Sabatier between "religions of authority" and "religions of the spirit" is a false antithesis. The essential elements of the Christian revelation are the "facts of the Gospel," the "mighty acts" of God wrought through Christ and summarized in the so-called Apostles' Creed. Creed and liturgy preserve the Apostolic *kerugma*. Yet there is nothing automatic about the guidance of the indwelling Spirit. The Church has an earthly as well as a heavenly nature, and always lies open to the judgment of Christ. The Roman doctrine of the Church obliterates its twofold nature. The Reformation doctrine of the Church invisible errs in the other direction. The Church is the People of God, "the school of saints and the home of sinners." Her unity has never been perfectly realized on earth, but the Church does not therefore forfeit her vocation, her mission, or her authority.

Canon Rich maintains that the attitude towards Scripture taken by the Church of England at the Reformation is vindicated by modern scholarship. "Tradition created the Canon of Scripture and the Bible is the product of a believing and practicing Society." Scripture itself is the result of tradition; the Bible cannot be separated from the Church's life and worship without doing violence to each. The alliance of priesthood and prophecy guarantees the authority of revelation. The "wholeness" of the Christian tradition given once for all in Christ is found in the whole life and fellowship of the Church.

Newman's *Essay on Development* set on foot a line of inquiry which has had far-reaching consequences. Harnack applied the principle of development in the interest of liberal Protestantism. Loisy countered with the modernism of *L'Evangile et L'Eglise*. Both were historical skeptics. "The Divine-human nature of the Church conditions her doctrinal development just as it accounts for the mixture of truth and error in much of her popular practice." Infallibility does not preclude the presence of exaggeration and one-sidedness in common belief. Rather it presupposes it. "The Church's final judgments upon doctrine, like the process of development itself, are dependent upon time and prolonged reflection." Popular Romanism assumes that developed doctrine can be recognized as soon as the definition has been made. Many Anglicans assume that, because there is a time-lag, the Church does not possess infallibility. Canon Rich says: "Both attitudes must be rejected." There is an interesting appended note on "The Papal Definition of the Assumption," wherein our author, while rejecting the authority of the papacy to make it binding as a necessary article of belief, assumes an irenic attitude which would deprecate offhand rejection of the doctrine by Anglicans.

In a chapter on "The Limits of Rational Enquiry," Canon Rich pays his respects to Ritschlianism, modernism, secularism, rationalism, and the doctrinal divergencies revealed in the *Report of the Doctrinal Commission*. He takes essentially the position of Bishop Gore, distinguishing between a latitude of interpretation which does not amount to



denial of an article of the Creed and a view which would in effect claim that the Church can outgrow her credal affirmations.

The final chapter, "Towards a Solution," seeks to do justice to all the factors and tensions that inhere in the subject of authority and infallibility and the necessity of testing and assimilating new teaching and speculation. He finds hope in the leadership which the Church of England is taking in the Ecumenical Movement. The resolution of the ultimate and irreconcilable dilemma between Reason and Authority awaits the reunion of Christendom, or the aid of "the light supernatural."

From this inadequate summary, it may be seen that Canon Rich has produced a stimulating and scholarly work in the best Anglican tradition, an important book that will have to be taken into account in future discussions of the nature of spiritual authority and its institutional embodiment.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

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*Western Canon Law.* By the Rt. Rev. Robert C. Mortimer, D. D., Lord Bishop of Exeter. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1953, pp. 92. \$2.00.

These are five stimulating lectures written in simple style and worthy of all to be read. Three contain an outline of the development of canon law in Western Christendom down to the Reformation. In the fourth there is an account of

"What has happened to the canon law in England since the Reformation; what of it remains and what has passed out of use, and the hopes and intentions of the Revision which is now being attempted."

In the final lecture the author gives his reflections on the nature of the canon law. Defining canon law in its strictest sense, which omits tradition, as law contained in canons passed by councils, the author states it may be said to have begun with the Council of Nicea, (325 A. D.), although canons were adopted by earlier councils which, not being ecumenical, did not legislate with equal authority.

The second lecture is largely devoted to the Penitentials and their effect in making the canon law, like the secular, concern itself with penal discipline. Here the False Decretals are shown to have had for their purpose the protection of clergy and church property from the secular authority and how, by assertion of a right of appeal, the papal power grew until it was the source of law.

The third lecture covers the development of the Corpus Juris Canonici from the Decretum of Burchard of Worms through Gratian to Jean Chappuis in 1503, and shows it constituted the canon law in force at the Reformation in England as well as on the continent except for local custom.

The fourth lecture treats the problem which arose in England upon the repudiation of the papacy and the measures taken to meet it. It is stated that such repudiation cut the canon law from its source and left it with no authority, a statement from which this reviewer respectfully dissents. Henry VIII solved the problem by taking the position, first, that the king was substituted for the pope and, second, that the canon law had been operative in England solely by its acceptance by king and people. The second position is interesting in considering the effect of the American Revolution and organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church upon our own canon law, the answer to which is found in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer and many acts of General Convention. Efforts to define the canon law of the Church of England, still pursued, are described, including the inroads of Parliament. The fifth lecture deals with the peculiar characteristics of the canon law. Here we quote the author who writes:

"The law of the Church is concerned not only, and indeed perhaps not primarily, with the good of the Church as a Society, but rather with the good of each individual member. And the good of the individual which it seeks to promote is not a temporal good but his eternal welfare."

What a step *ad regnum charitatis* and the reunion of Christianity if a realization of this purpose should result from a greater knowledge of the ancient canons. Here the author treats the distinction between the variable and the immutable parts of the canon law, the consequent respect for local custom and the flexibility shown in applying the law to individuals. It is told how customs which are *contra legem* may acquire the force of law. The good and the dangers of dispensation are treated. The final point covered is ecclesiastical punishment in which the perils of excommunication, a case for "exquisite discretion," are shown. This lecture closes with a summation which might furnish the text for any lecture on the canon law, beginning: "The canons are the norms and standards of Christian behaviour."

JACKSON A. DYKMAN.\*

*White Acre.*  
*Glen Cove, N. Y.*

\*Colonel Dykman is chairman of the Committee on Canons of the House of Deputies of the General Convention. He has recently completed the new revision of *Annotated Constitution and Canons* for the government of the Church, originally annotated by Edwin Augustine White (1924). The new edition is published by The Seabury Press, 1954.—*Editor's note.*

*Infallible Fallacies.* By Some Priests of the Anglican Communion. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Company. 32 pages. Price, 35 cents.

This is the pamphlet to which the Archbishop of Canterbury referred, in his address to the convocation of Canterbury last October; he spoke of it as providing "a reply, brief but effective, courteous and quickly read, to some of the arguments of Roman Catholic propaganda."

Dr. Fisher's description is entirely adequate. Here is a small pamphlet, easily readable, which discusses such chestnuts as: "Are Anglican priests really priests?"; "Did Henry VIII found the Anglican Church?"; "Whose was the act of schism as between Rome and Canterbury?"; "To be a Catholic do you have to be a *Roman* Catholic?" The answers are scholarly and, so far as is possible in a small booklet, accurately given. If the material is oriented towards England, any reader can make the necessary adjustment to the Episcopal Church as the daughter of the Church of England.

Parish priests will find this a very useful addition to their shelf of books and will use it often when parishioners question the catholicity of our communion. It is very reasonably priced and nicely printed; and it could be read in an hour.

W. NORMAN PITTINGER.

*General Theological Seminary,*  
*New York City.*

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*Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1583-1656.* By Geoffrey Ingle Soden. London, S. P. C. K., 1953. Pp. xiv, 511. 42/

A full-scale biography of that most enigmatic of Caroline prelates, Bishop Goodman of Gloucester, will be greeted with interest by students of English Church history. Appointed to his bishopric by King James I in 1624, Goodman lived through a stormy period of religious controversy and civil war to become the senior bishop of the province; yet he never escaped from a position of lonely isolation and unpopularity. It was his unhappy lot to be disliked equally by Laud and by the Puritans, and to spend his years as an Anglican bishop haunted by dreams of reunion with Rome. Before his death in 1656, he is reputed to have become a Roman Catholic.

Not surprisingly, Bishop Goodman has fared ill at the hands of historians of his own day and ours, and has for the most part been summarily dismissed as a crypto-papist who lacked the courage and honesty of his convictions. His present biographer has set himself to prove that "Goodman's failure was due to his virtues rather than to his defects"; that he was a man of charm, tolerance, and deep religious

sensibility; and that his chief offense was to hold "beliefs that were normal and moderate, if the general consent of Christendom be the yardstick."

Mr. Soden has no difficulty in showing that Bishop Goodman was a man of parts, the writer of several curious but imaginative theological works, one of which has been termed "the most elaborate Jacobean lament on the theme of time." He was also the author of *The Court of King James I*, a work from which later historians have gleaned valuable material. In regard to his private character, the evidence presented tends to confirm Fuller's verdict: "To give Goodman his due, he was a harmless man, hurtful to none but himself, pitiful to the poor, hospitable to his neighbours, against the ruin of any of opposite judgment."

But Mr. Soden's zealous defence of Goodman's career as bishop is another matter, and is not likely to modify the popular verdict. Goodman's want of moral courage, his shiftiness, and his chronic self-pity emerge too clearly even in a sympathetic portrait. Mr. Soden argues that Goodman's resistance to Laud was really based on his aversion to what is loosely termed the archbishop's "Erastianism"; but there is slight evidence for such a claim. It seems much more likely that Laud's contemptuous hostility was caused by Goodman's amiable slackness in administration and by his furtive dealings with papal agents. Nor is it clear that the bishop's refusal to assent to the Canons of 1641 was for creditable reasons.

As a biography this work is also open to serious criticism. Mr. Soden's wide range of research is admirable, but is not matched by discrimination in the use of his materials. His account of an interesting career is weighed down by a mass of trivial and irrelevant detail, and damaged by frequent excursions into modern polemic. This volume of 500 pages could well have been curtailed by a third, and its rambling and discursive style severely disciplined.

It should be said in conclusion, however, that on several important matters the author makes a real contribution to Anglican history. Nowhere is there a fuller and more satisfactory account of the tribulations of the bishops in the Long Parliament, and of the events leading to their impeachment. Mr. Soden has also presented all the relevant material on the reunion discussions between Anglicans and Roman Catholics in the reign of Charles I, and it is unlikely that we shall ever know more about them than he has told us. In view of the continual appeal of modern controversialists to seventeenth century precedent, his book serves a useful purpose in reminding us that the Church which united so diverse a company as Goodman, Montague, Hall Davenant, Ussher, and Chillingworth—not to speak of the Puritan conformists—can be counted on to furnish precedents equally disconcerting to all parties in turn.

ROBERT S. BOSHER.

*The General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

*James Stewart, Earl of Moray: A Political Study of the Reformation in Scotland.* By Maurice Lee, Jr. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1953). \$4.00. Pp. ix, 320.

Against the colorful background of the Scottish Reformation, Mr. Lee has written a competent biography of one of the leading political figures of the age. The author has reconstructed the religious strife of this period from the point of view of the nobility, the strongest social group in Scotland during the sixteenth century.

James Stewart, Earl of Moray, bastard brother of Mary Queen of Scots and in his later years Regent of Scotland for the infant James VI, was an outstanding leader of the Protestant party. Mr. Lee succinctly observes: "That Mary's career was tragically romantic was her own doing; that it was a political and religious failure as well was due to Moray as much as to any other person, not even excepting Knox or Cecil or Elizabeth herself."

This biography fills an important gap in the literature of the Marian period, for the remarkable career of the Earl of Moray has not heretofore been examined adequately by historians. The thirteen chapters of text are extensively footnoted, and the seven pages of bibliography reveal that the author has consulted the principal sources and secondary works pertinent to his subject. Mr. Lee attributes a high degree of political ability to the Earl of Moray and points out that he was indispensable as a party leader. By moderation and concessions he kept the powerful element of the Scottish nobility under control and thereby ensured the ultimate success of the Scottish Reformation. This book, attractively printed and well-indexed, represents a significant contribution to the religious and political history of the sixteenth century.

BERNERD C. WEBER.

*University of Alabama.*

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*The Man in Leather Breeches: The Life and Times of George Fox.* By Vernon Noble. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. \$6.00.

The latest biography of the founder of Quakerism is a popular rather than a scholarly account of Fox's amazing career; but it is written with an enthusiastic appreciation that does full justice to the dramatic quality of the Quaker story. The author is a commentator of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and remarks in his introduction that he set out to reexamine the evidence with a journalist's critical eye, to find out what kind of a man Fox was, and what were the reasons for the intense opposition to him. He has been only partly successful in his aim, for a lack of acquaintance with the religious and

social background of the age—particularly with the radical sectarian movement of which Quakerism was an integral part—makes this a superficial study which hardly justifies its sub-title.

ROBERT S. BOSHER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*The Works of St. Patrick—St. Secundinus, Hymn on St. Patrick*, translated and annotated by Ludwig Bieler [*Ancient Christian Writers*, No. 17] (Westminster, Newman Press, 1953) 121 pp. \$2.50.

Though the works of St. Patrick make a slender volume, it is an important one, and this newest translation by Dr. Bieler of Dublin is sound and the notes authoritative. Besides the *Confession* and *Epistle*, it includes the few fragmentary sayings, the Canons of the one probably genuine Patrician Synod, and the rather rhetorical Hymn of Secundinus. An Appendix gives the famous *Breastplate*, familiar in our *Hymnal*, which certainly reflects the spirit of Patrician Christianity, though the most one can say of its authorship is that its "composition by St. Patrick is a possibility that should not be rashly dismissed."

E. R. HARDY.

*Berkeley Divinity School,  
New Haven, Connecticut.*

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*The Library of Christian Classics. Vol. I. Early Christian Fathers.* Newly translated and edited by Cyril C. Richardson. Pp. 413. Vol. XXIV. *Zwingli and Bullinger.* Selected translations with notes by G. W. Bromley. Pp. 364. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1953. Each, \$5.00.

These are the first to appear of a projected series of 26 volumes of great Christian writings from the patristic, scholastic, and Reformation periods. Guaranteed by the prestige of its general editors—John Baillie of Edinburgh, and Henry P. Van Dusen and John T. McNeill of Union Theological Seminary—supported by a competent corps of editors from both sides of the Atlantic, the *Library of Christian Classics* deserves to be widely heralded and acclaimed, and the first two volumes live up to all that might have been hopefully anticipated. The editorship is skilled, the introductions are uniformly lucid and scholarly, while ample bibliographical guidance is provided for readers who may care to probe more deeply.

For *Early Christian Fathers*, Professor Richardson has enlisted the collaboration of Eugene R. Fairweather of Trinity College, Toronto; Edward R. Hardy, Berkeley Divinity School; and Massey H. Shepherd, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge. Included are: I Clement, the Ignatian letters, the Didache, II Clement (really an early Christian



homily), and the Plea of Athenagoras—all freshly translated with introductions by Dr. Richardson. The letter of Polycarp and his Martyrology (the letter of Smyrna to Philomelium) are done by Dr. Shepherd, while the translation and editing of Justin's First Apology and selections from the *Adversus Haereses* of Irenaeus is the work of Dr. Hardy. Professor Fairweather's contribution is the so-called letter to Diognetus. Thus we have judiciously chosen samples of "letters in crises," primitive martyrology, Church Orders, Apologetics, and Theology, with the earliest Christian sermon that has survived.

The volume devoted to the Zurich Reformers contains five treatises by Ulrich Zwingli (On the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God, On the Education of Youth, On Baptism, On the Lord's Supper, and an Exposition of the Faith written to enlighten Francis I), followed by an expository doctrinal sermon on the Holy Catholic Church from the once-famous *Decades* of Heinrich Bullinger. Each of these items is furnished with an adequate introduction and helpful footnotes (but at the end of the volume). The whole should give a pretty fair picture of the character of pre-Calvinian Reformed thought.

We can hardly imagine a more satisfactory comprehensive collection of Christian classics than this series is planned to offer.

PERCY V. NORWOOD.

*Seabury-Western Theological Seminary,  
Evanston, Illinois.*

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*Reformation Writings of Martin Luther.* Translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. Vol. I. *The Basis of the Protestant Reformation.* New York, The Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. 402. \$6.00.

Although the monumental Weimar edition of Luther's works, begun seventy years ago, now runs into about as many volumes, only a small part of the Reformer's writings has so far been made available to English readers, and even this not always from the most authentic text. Wace and Buchheim's *Luther's Primary Works*, published in 1883, the year the Weimar *corpus* was launched, gives us only the Ninety-five Theses and the three great treatises of 1520. Here, in the "Babylonish Captivity," Victorian prudery has reduced to a line of asterisks three pages in which Luther discusses some delicate matters of sex morality. More recently, the United Lutheran Publishing House has brought out a more comprehensive collection in six volumes, with translations and introductions of varying merit.

Meanwhile, there has been a widespread revival of interest in, and scientific study of, Luther's life and thought, part of a larger revival of sympathetic study of the sixteenth century Reformers. While we have had a plethora of excellent books *about* Luther, little has been done in recent years to open his writings to English readers. Dr. Woolf, who

proved his translator's skill in his rendering of Hans Lietzmann's *Ancient Church*, gives us here a fresh and felicitous translation from the Weimar text of the Theses, the Appeal to the Nobility, the Pagan Servitude, and the Christian Liberty, together with the little-known short Exposition of the Creed, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer, all provided with adequate special introductions.

P. V. NORWOOD.

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*The Formation of the New Testament.* By H. F. D. Sparks. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. 172 pp. \$3.00.

This book, by the Edward Cadbury Professor of Theology in the University of Birmingham (England), is, as the writer says in the foreword, "a simple introduction designed for the reader who is beginning the subject." In a short prologue he shows that the New Testament must be regarded as "the Church's Book," not so much because the Church has for centuries *possessed* it, as because the Church originally *produced* it . . . (and) defined authoritatively what books the New Testament should contain." Then, after a brief chapter on the primitive *Kerygma*, there follows a brief "introduction" to various books—contents, author, date, etc.—concluding with a short discussion of the canon.

The writer obviously knows the latest trends in New Testament studies and presents fairly in general terms the different points of view on disputed questions, but without giving representative names of those who hold the views. This lack is partially made up of a brief, annotated, bibliography of books, "for further study."

Professor Sparks has done excellently the task he has set for himself, and his book is to be recommended to the intelligent layman, interested in a modern introduction to the New Testament. A chapter on language and text might well have been added.

E. J. COOK.

*Berkeley Divinity School,  
New Haven, Connecticut.*

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*Exeter.* By Brian Cook (London) B. T. Batsford, Ltd.) 15s net.

Exeter is one of the most delightful cities in the British Isles. The story from Roman times is rich in historical associations. Despite the ravages of the last war, much remains of great interest—the Guildhall, Rougement Castle, the Customs House, Georgian House of distinction, but above all the Cathedral with its transeptal towers. In a land of lovely

churches, there is not one more beautiful than Exeter Cathedral. The sun streaming in the early morning through the fourteenth-century glass of the east window, with its splendours of form and colour, or playing on the northern arcade of the nave with its greys, pale reds and creams, fixes itself on the memory as a picture of unfailing charm. To all that is delightful in Exeter, Brian Little is a safe and helpful guide. He does not forget other Devon treasures, but dwells with affectionate appreciation on Ottery St. Mary, Crediton, Tiverton, Collompton and the little fishing village of Topsham at the mouth of the Exe. This is a good book.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,  
Oxford, England.*

### III. Theology and Philosophy

*What is Christianity?* By Walter Lowrie. New York, Pantheon Books, Inc., 1953. Pp. 192. \$2.50.

The Episcopal Church in the United States has no more mellow, versatile, and urbane scholar than Dr. Walter Lowrie, who, in the past few years, has published no less than thirty-five books on religious subjects, fifteen of them concerning Kierkegaard. Dr. Lowrie is not only our greatest living authority on Kierkegaard, but also one of our greatest American authorities on Christian antiquities and archaeology, a subject which he was able to study at first hand during the years that he was rector of St. Paul's American Church in Rome.

The book under review is a collection of essays which were written for, and with one exception published in, theological reviews. For that reason there is a certain amount of repetition and overlapping, which, however, is not objectionable, since it gives cumulative effect to the development of Dr. Lowrie's thesis.

This is the third book published in the 1900's under the title, "What is Christianity?" The first was the English translation of Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, which is the classical expression of German religious liberalism prior to World War I. The second was Dr. Clayton C. Morrison's Yale Lectures of 1939, published in 1940, and remarkable for its insistence (from a liberal Protestant point of view) that the question of the title could not be answered without allowing full weight to the continuous life and witness of the Church. Dr. Lowrie's book makes no pretense to being as complete and definitive as either of these earlier works, but it yields to neither of them in spiritual acumen and intellectual incisiveness.

Dr. Lowrie makes no reference to Dr. Morrison's *What Is Christianity?* With most of it, we fancy, he would have no quarrel. But in

his first chapter he vigorously dissociates himself from the pallid liberalism and the tepid humanitarian gospel of Harnack, which, though theologically dated, is still influential. The thinly veiled unitarianism of the German liberals could not possibly do justice to the New Testament emphasis on "the kingdom of God" and "eternal life," which Dr. Lowrie points out to be interchangeable synonyms. Schweitzer's eschatological emphasis, with all its exaggeration, represented the swing of the pendulum.

The second chapter, entitled "The Simple Gospel—A Plea to Theologians," is the key chapter of Lowrie's book. Herein he maintains that Protestant theology, with its historic emphasis on justification by faith, has failed to preserve the right proportion of faith. Following the Swedish Bishop Nygren and the Revised Standard Version (which later, in a footnote on p. 164, Dr. Lowrie criticizes as corrupting the Scriptures by substituting abstract concepts for the realistic, concrete idiom of the original Hebrew and Greek!), our author points out that the rendition of Romans 1:17, "He who by faith is righteous *shall live*," is both a more accurate translation and better preserves the proportion of faith than the more familiar "The just shall live by faith." There is no Scriptural basis whatever for justification by faith *only*. Here and throughout the book Dr. Lowrie rings the changes, incisively and persuasively, on the idea that the Christian Gospel was put in a package labeled the Elixir of Life, the ingredients of which were comprehensible to all.

Chapter 3, "The Name Which Is Above Every Name," emphasizes the centrality of Jesus Christ in Christianity, and concludes, "The full name LORD JESUS CHRIST is a summary confession of our faith."

We shall refrain from commenting on the remaining chapters, concluding with a brilliant final essay on "Walking in His Steps." No summary can do aught but detract from the pleasure which the reader will experience in reading them. Go beg, borrow, buy, or steal this book, and read it for yourself. For himself, this reviewer can truthfully say that he has read no more delightfully stimulating series of essays on the highest of themes since he first read Dean Inge's *Outspoken Essays* more than thirty years ago. It is a book to read, and re-read.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

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*Action in the Liturgy, Essential and Unessential.* By Walter Lowrie. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953; xvi, 303 pages, VI plates; \$4.75.

Dr. Lowrie's new book is a revised and enlarged edition of a volume published by him several years ago, entitled *The Lord's Supper and the Liturgy* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1943). It consists for the most part of sermons, and brief addresses made to various clergy groups.

The new material helps to round out the themes of the earlier volume with a better proportion of emphasis and a more thorough treatment of all aspects of the Eucharistic liturgy as contained in the American Prayer Book. Part I deals with "essential" action, i. e. the meaning of the Eucharist and its place in the life of Christians; Part II, "unessential" action, covers the ceremonial aspects of the Eucharistic celebration with an interpretation of the rubrics.

It goes without saying that any work of Dr. Lowrie on whatever subject he chooses to discuss is important and well worth a wide reading and study, for it is always full of profound theological insight. Moreover, it is always a delight to read, not least for its pungent (or, as he calls it, "ironical") wit. His treatment is often intensely personal, but never subjective and uncritical. This book is without question one of the fundamental contributions to date in the liturgical revival going on throughout Christendom, and its value is even enhanced by the fact that Dr. Lowrie does not attempt to cover the whole field of Christian corporate worship, but limits himself to that particular liturgical inheritance with which he as an Anglican priest has a personal concern and experience. Yet Dr. Lowrie can never be less than "ecumenical" in his thinking; and one does not have to be an Episcopalian to profit immensely from his essays.

The importance of Dr. Lowrie's fundamental theses cannot be too strongly emphasized. His insistence upon the eschatological character of the Eucharist as the earnest of our hope of eternal life is one of the most solid elements of his presentation. He also makes very clear that the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist is not to be found in any note of propitiation but in thanksgiving and communion. The chapter entitled "The Dominical Precept" is the ablest statement I have yet seen of the Eucharist as the norm of Christian worship on the Lord's Day. Among the discussions of "unessentials" one may point particularly to the excellent pages dealing with the free-standing altar, vestments, the pros and cons of genuflection, and the use of wafer bread instead of the "one loaf." Probably the weakest part of the book are those sections dealing with the Offertory. Dr. Lowrie is apparently not in sympathy with the new development of an offertory procession, in which the laity bring to the altar the oblations of bread and wine. And he has unfortunately placed the discussion of the Offertory—though not without misgivings—in the "Mass of the Catechumens" rather than in the "Mass of the Faithful," where it unmistakably belongs.

Because of his general leanings towards what is commonly called "Western" use (there is little attention paid to "Sarum" traditions), many of Dr. Lowrie's personal preferences may be challenged—such as kneeling for the Epistle, or the use of the Benedictus after the Sanctus. But these are minor points. There are, however, a few slips that should be corrected in any new printing or edition: p. 35, Cranmer should be substituted for Bishop Gardiner; p. 51, Calvin insisted on a weekly celebration, not a monthly one, as stated; p. 170, "mainfold" for "manifold," and "three" for "thee"; p. 195, St. Thomas Becket and Pope Boniface VIII are inadvertently made contemporaries; p. 207, the recent change

of General Convention in the canon on lay readers makes clear the right of a layman to read the Epistle; p. 212, the statement that it is an "antiquated custom" to say Morning Prayer as an introduction to the Holy Communion is curious, to say the least; p. 235, the offertory sentences are from the Great Bible—at least, those that go back to the First Prayer Book; p. 240, there is some confusion for the unwary reader between the lavabo and ablutions; p. 277, "Eller" should be "Ellard" as in the bibliography.

MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR.

*Episcopal Theological School,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

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*The Christian Approach to Culture.* By Emil Caillet. New York, Abington-Cokesbury Press, 1953. 288 pages. \$3.75.

This book begins tumultuously, but if for this cause a reader should be inclined to read no further, he would miss a great deal of pleasure and instruction. For my part I cannot wish that the introduction was more restrained, for the author is a volcanic personality, and whenever I meet him my cooler blood is warmed by his hot explosions either of fervent condemnation or of fervent praise. I agree with him that Karl Barth has to be got out of the way if there is to be any Christian approach to culture, but he does not loom so large in my eyes that I would devote the greater part of a chapter to disposing of him. The chapter entitled "The Dim Light of Ancient Days," a chapter on anthropology, a subject upon which Dr. Caillet is very competent to speak, is not needed here—but after all it is a short chapter. But from that point on the passion of the author is thoroughly restrained, though he never lacks the warmth of conviction.

The greater part of the book, 135 pages, is a critical survey of Western thought, from the early Greek philosophers, through Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, through Augustine and all that preceded and followed him down to Thomas Aquinas, from him through various stages to Kant, to Fichte, Hegel, including Karl Marx and all that followed in his wake—in short, all of the leaders of Western thought, who are analyzed succinctly but with a clarity which reflects the author's long practice in teaching callow youth in our universities. Dr. Caillet, a Frenchman by birth and education, has been in this country about twenty-five years only, and yet—I am furious at it—he writes English more forcibly than I who have been at it for eighty-five years. Any philosopher can give a summary of the history of philosophy, but here the summary gives a definite clue to the cause and effect of the schism between faith and our secular culture. This is really what the book is about, and it ought to have been called (as it is in a subtitle which appears on the dust cover), "The Schism between Faith and our Secular



Culture—its Cause, Effect, and Remedy." With such a title the book might have begun without any hovering before getting at the subject. The last chapters suggest the "remedy"—which is satisfactory enough to me, but hardly will content systematic theologians, who are warned that they must wait some time before theology can become complete enough to claim to be "the queen of the sciences."

There are three chapters in this book which not many professors of philosophy could write, and which Dr. Caillet has been able to write with great competence because he has also been professor of literature. They are: "Modern Frustration"; "The Western World Without Radiance"; and "The Eastern World with a False Radiance." Here the author depicts in the most vivid terms the "effect" of the schism, not upon philosophy, but upon the men of the Western world generally, drawing his illustrations from the most popular sources, chiefly from novels in French, German, Italian, Russian and English, which depict the frustration of the modern man since the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century—and the "false radiance" which now dazzles the Eastern world.

WALTER LOWRIE.

Princeton, New Jersey.

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*War, Peace, and the Christian Mind.* By James Thayer Addison. The Seabury Press, Greenwich, Conn. 1953. Pp. xii + 112. \$2.00.

The Seabury Press has performed a useful service in publishing posthumously these notes on the Christian attitude toward war and peace by Dr. Addison. The resultant volume fully merits the brief Foreword and personal tribute by the present Presiding Bishop of the Church, Dr. Henry Knox Sherrill, for forty years Dr. Addison's close friend.

Though Dr. Addison was quite definitely not a pacifist, one finds in these pages the same fair-mindedness toward men of other convictions that marked his larger work, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. He quotes freely from pacifists and non-pacifists, rejoices to find large areas of agreement between both groups, but does not hesitate to render candid critical verdicts on the issues in dispute.

Both groups recognize the supremacy of conscience, the hideous evils of war, its inadequacy to the promotion of the peace of righteousness, and the preeminence of love in the Christian ethic (though disagreeing on its meaning and implications). Christian pacifism in the hands of its best exponents does not repudiate all use of force, but does contend that war is *never* the lesser of two evils. It is here that pacifists and non-pacifists part company. In his fourth chapter, "Some Pacifist Errors," Dr. Addison takes issue with the pacifist generalization that wars produce only evil, and refutes from history the contentions that "wars settle nothing," inevitably breed more wars, and are fatal to democracy. He accuses pacifists of undermining the dis-

inction between right and wrong in international relations by failure to differentiate between the good and evil cause. The pacifist makes peace an end in itself instead of a by-product of the pursuit of Christian righteousness. If war is the greatest of all possible evils, then any kind of peace is better than any kind of war, and tyranny is preferred to war. Christian love does not preclude the processes of judgment and punishment. A love which never uses force becomes a form of indulgent amiability quite different from the love of God as historically revealed.

Dr. Addison points out that pacifism falls into moral irresponsibility through its failure to be concerned with the results of non-resistance on a national scale. We were reminded of Dean Inge's witty epigram, "It is useless for the sheep to pass resolutions in favor of vegetarianism when the wolf is of a contrary opinion." Says Dr. Addison: "Advocated as a political program, pacifism plays into the hands of selfish isolationism at home and advances militaristic aggression abroad." At the same time he allows that (as in the case of those who renounce the world and join monastic orders) "pacifism as a special vocation for those men and women who feel called to it makes a valuable contribution to the total thought of the community."

In a chapter reviewing various Protestant and Anglican pronouncements on atomic weapons, our author seems to concur in the opinion that "the weapon used cannot be the determining factor whether or not war is ever justifiable." The concluding chapter emphasizes the positive contributions which Christians must make in order to promote among the nations justice and peaceful cooperation. There is an excellent bibliography for those who would pursue the subject further.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

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*The Christian Gospel and the Parish Church: An Introduction to Parish Dynamics.* By Charles Duell Kean. Greenwich, Conn. The Seabury Press, 1953. Pp. xi + 142. \$2.50.

The rector of Grace Church, Kirkwood, Missouri, has given us in this book a thoughtful and interesting study of the implementation of the Church's teaching in parish life, based on his own wide pastoral experience. The book is designed to be used as a handbook to relate the content of "The Church's Teaching Series," and especially the content of *The Faith of the Church*, to the life of the parish. To that end, Dean Pike and Professor Pittinger, the co-authors of the last-named book, provide an introduction commending Mr. Kean's book to the Church public as a basis for discussion.

Our reaction to this recommendation is that all three men assume a higher standard of intellectual and spiritual literacy than is to be found

at the grass-roots of the Church's life. That most of the clergy and many of the intelligent laity could profit by a careful reading of this book we confidently believe. But it is not easy reading, and for that reason we doubt if it can be very extensively used as a basis of group discussion.

Having said this, not in any captious spirit, but as a bit of friendly constructive criticism, we hasten to express our gratitude to Mr. Kean for his thoughtful and thought-provoking book. Like all of us in the parish ministry, he is deeply concerned to make the Christian Gospel a more effective factor, through the channel of the parish, in the life of the community. He is convinced that the Church must reach people where they live and "proclaim the Gospel so that men can hear it, respond to it, and find life meaningful through the discovery of freedom and power." With this in view, he examines the structure of the average parish church, the pattern of its services of worship, its educational program, its organizational life.

Adhering closely to New Testament theology, Mr. Kean finds three basic notes in the Christian Gospel—the note of judgment, the note of justification, and the note of salvation.

The note of judgment proclaims to men that they are never external to the problems which concern them, but are always completely involved. The parish church cannot in its worship evade the issue through simple moralism or mechanical adjustment rites, but must start from the fact that man as an individual and the church as a group are both under judgment. The rite of confirmation is adduced to illustrate how judgment underscores human sin and divine grace.

The note of justification declares that, while man stands continually under judgment, he can live a positive and creative life here and now. The writer very suggestively differentiates justification by faith from variant popular forms of justification through sense of well-being. Holy Baptism and Christian Marriage are cited as exemplifying the meaning of justification.

Quoting Bishop Westcott's famous reply to the Salvation Army lassie who asked him if he were saved ("I am saved, I am being saved, I hope to be saved"), Mr. Kean points out that the note of salvation rests upon the conviction that God has already acted—uniquely in the mighty acts whereby he wrought our redemption through Christ; that He continues to act through the Spirit-filled fellowship of the Church; and that He will eventually bring His work to fulfilment. So understood, the note of salvation runs through the entire contents of the Book of Common Prayer. Applying this, and pointing out that the note of salvation results in no elimination of tension, our author in his final chapter emphasizes the danger of clericalism, the importance of the priesthood of the laity, and the respective functions of each in such services as the Holy Communion and Morning Prayer.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

*Faith and Moral Authority.* By Benjamin Kimpel. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953.

This book is a justification of moral standards and a vindication of that faith which asserts them and their authority. Although Professor Kimpel implies that the great tradition of Western moral theory is either Platonic or Aristotelian, it is the Platonic tradition which he defends on the ground that it is a positive theory and one which transcends the limitations of historic relativity. Although he deals more in detail with Aristotelian moral concepts, he is convinced that Platonism alone solves the practical problems of morals.

In spite of his defense of a Platonic moral system, our author is preoccupied with Aristotle and in much of his discussion he uses Aristotle rather than Plato. Aristotle is his guide, although he repudiates him. It is as if he unconsciously senses the validity of Aristotle, although he consciously repudiates him. Kimpel's difficulty rests in his misapprehension of the Aristotelian conception of moral standards. This leads him to say, "... Aristotle has not clarified a single basic problem in his formulation of a practical rule for human life" (p. 24). Aristotle, he thinks is too matter of fact, and yet is without practical moral vision. Kimpel does not realize that the good is a metaphysical concept for Aristotle; it is "the appropriate" and "the fitting"; and its presence in human life is discerned in the decorous, in that which is suited to man's true nature. The *mean* is merely a way of indicating the healthy, the decorous and the fitting. Aristotle's metaphysics of value develops into a really practical moral system, a system which has both standards and practical moral insights.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South,  
Sewanee, Tennessee.*

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*The Protestant Credo.* Edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. 241 pp. \$5.00.

This book is an interesting symposium, edited by that veteran symposiast from Wooster College, in which various Protestant leaders of our time and country write of their ideas and hopes for the Protestant side of Christianity. Some of them, like Morton Enslin, write as liberals (in his case, very much a liberal indeed, but with an incisive and delightful style and a naughty pen); others, like John Bennett, as more sympathetic to the newer movements in Protestant Christianity. F. W. Buckler is the only Anglican in the list; he has an essay on the "anthropological approach to Protestantism."

This book seems to the reviewer to represent (with the exception of the essays by Bennett and McNeill, since Buckler's contribution is somewhat different from the remainder) a kind of Protestantism which has "had its day." It is of the reductionist variety of Christian writing, which goes to extremes of negation under the assumption that this is re-statement. Not so the men from Union Seminary; and, in their way, not so Atkins and McConnell, too; but the impression that is left with one is that Christianity in anything like its classical sense is pretty well done for: let us have something new!

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*The Anglican Pulpit Today: Representative Sermons by Leading Preachers of the Anglican Communion. Edited by the Very Rev. Frank D. Gifford, Ph. D., S. T. D., Dean of the Divinity School, Philadelphia. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953. \$3.50.*

This volume contains forty-two sermons by clergymen of the Anglican Communion: England, Australia, Canada, East Africa, Japan, and the United States. In his Foreword, the editor tells us that one bishop declined to make a contribution, saying "that his sermons are not as effective in print, being meant to be heard and not read." One cannot help thinking that this remark is applicable to the whole volume. We have here a collection of religious essays; most of them will illumine the mind, some of them will warm the heart, a very few will stir the will. Quite probably, the voice and manner of the preacher would supply that which the printed page lacks. Even so, the Anglican Communion would be stronger if its pulpit spoke in simpler language with deeper feeling.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church Rectory,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*

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*Christ and the Human Life. By Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster. New York, The Philosophical Library, 1953. \$5.00.*

Professor Foerster published the first edition of this work in Germany in 1921. Many conditions in the world changed extensively during the next three decades; and, accordingly, the author re-wrote

many chapters for the present edition. But the "perennial problems" have remained the same, and the eternal Gospel of Christian truth continues to offer its saving answer to man's questions.

Part I deals with the personal needs of the human soul. Part II enlarges the discussion to cover all of human life. Throughout the book, the author illustrates his message by presenting actual or well-imagined stories of situations in which the Gospel brings light and strength to man's need. He offers a well balanced combination of the free and active power of divine grace with the ethical spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. And he frequently points out the similarity between other philosophies and religions, and the Christian message. In every chapter there are passages which are worth quoting and remembering. One will serve for the present review:

"It is indeed a great error to suppose that goodness and meekness are the content of the Christian soul. No, Christianity is above all faith in the World Overcomer on Calvary, it is a resuscitation of the flesh, salvation from the bondage of the world, complete conversion and re-birth of the will—and only upon this basis can that nobler kind of love and mildness develop, which alone can really help and educate: not a weak descent to the natural man, but an imitation of the grace which from the Cross draws man irresistibly up to his eternal welfare."

The book is beautifully translated, from the German *Christus und das Menschliche Leben*, by Daniel F. Coogan, Jr.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

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*Sparks of Fire and other Thoughts about Things that Matter.* By Thomas N. Carruthers, Bishop of South Carolina. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953. \$3.00.

For the past ten years, Bishop Carruthers has contributed a monthly column to the magazine *Farm and Ranch—Southern Agriculturist*. The present volume is made up of selections from these articles, dealing with practical matters of opinion and conduct. Because the magazine column was limited to approximately five hundred words, the chapters in this volume are short, even though some of the subjects deserve a more extended treatment. But they are all clearly written, sane and wholesome.

DuBOSE MURPHY.



*Jesus Christ the Light of the World.* By William Postell Witsell, D. D. Boston, The Christopher Publishing Co., 1953. \$2.00.

The author presents Jesus Christ as the crown and fulfillment of all human aspiration. Quoting generously from a wide range of authorities, he proclaims his own conviction that Christ is the Light of the World and the Son of God.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Buddhism and Zen.* By Nyogen Senzaki and Ruth Strout McCandless. New York, Philosophical Library. 91 pp. \$3.75.

*The Doubting Thomas.* By Russell P. Davies. New York, Philosophical Library. 344 pp. \$4.75.

*Atoms, Men and God.* By Paul E. Sabine. New York, Philosophical Library. 226 pp. \$3.75.

*God and the Universe.* By Holger Christian Langmack. New York, Philosophical Library. 173 pp. \$4.75.

This is a mixed batch of books. The first of them is a useful little volume which seeks to explain the teaching and techniques of Zen Buddhism. It is not as interesting as Alan Watts' small book on the same subject, but for those who wish to understand this type of oriental religion, it will be illuminating. It is propagandist in spirit, although the authors would hardly wish to allow this to be true.

Mr. Davies' book is concerned with the historical development of Christianity under God's "master plan." He insists that "since the dawn of time" this plan has been working itself out, with the coming of Christ as the climactic moment. It is a stimulating volume, written by a layman, and like many books of this sort it is open to question at point after point. But Mr. Davies has hold of a truth which ought to be emphasized; and his firm grasp of the concrete nature of Christianity is altogether good.

The third volume, by Sabine, is another study in the relation of religion and science, this time by a practising physicist who was brought up as a Methodist and has worked his way through the doubts and difficulties of his youth and early manhood to a firm grasp of a certain variety of Christianity. Nor is this a bad variety; it involves "a belief in a God of love, a personification, if you like, of the mysterious Power that 'guides the stars in their courses,' and which found expression in finite human terms in the life and death of the Man of Galilee." He maintains that this is no "blind, irrational credulity, but rather a rational faith that gives to both the scientific and the religious quests a spiritual meaning as two approaches to the same goal." Religious faith is thus "as deeply rooted in reality as are the truths of material science."

Since I am unable to understand the fourth book, by Langmack, which to me seems an incredible farrago of quasi-scientific jargon, religious idealism, and political naivete, I shall only quote the blurb, which says that

"*God and the Universe* presents the story of creation as a dimensional progression of physics, biology, psychology, learning and psychiatry, substantiated by the newly discovered simple mathematical relativity. Thus science and religion become united in a scientific faith. This will speedily unite Jews and Christians, and in time stamp out social diseases and unite mankind everywhere for universal peace and goodwill."

I imagine further comment is unnecessary.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*

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*This Our Sacrifice.* By L. A. E. Horsfield and H. Riley. American edition, New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953. \$1.75.

This is a brief devotional commentary on the Order for the Holy Communion, illustrated by photographs and supplemented by additional prayers.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

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*My Book of Personal Devotions.* By Louisa Boyd Gile. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953. \$1.75.

This is an excellent little guide to the practice of personal prayer, with suggestions for morning and evening devotions, preparation for Holy Communion, and other occasions. An especially helpful feature is the frequent appearance of blank pages on which one can write his own prayers or copy prayers from other sources. It is distinctly a book to be *used*, not just read and put aside.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

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*Parents' Prayers*, for use by Individuals or Groups. Selected or written by Muriel Streibert Curtis. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1953. Paper bound, \$1.00.

A useful collection of prayers and devotional material for families as well as for individuals, this little book should encourage those who would like to have family prayers but do not know exactly how to go about it.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Alice in Bibleland.* By George Wills. The Philosophical Library, New York, 1953. 54 pp. \$2.75.

The heroine, Alice, is "a thirteen-year-old, of inquiring mind," who discusses her reactions to the Bible with her grandmother, a seminary student, and her pastor. The last-named is regularly referred to as "Rev. Schlosser," and is addressed as "Reverend" in a way that sets a churchman's teeth on edge. Perhaps he belongs to another communion, but the catechism which Alice is learning seems quite like that in the Book of Common Prayer. Also, the thirteen-year-olds whom the reviewer has known have outgrown "jackstones" long since. These preliminary remarks are not irrelevant. They indicate a general remoteness from real life which pervades the whole book. It may be possible that such conversations took place fifty years ago. It is hard to imagine a clergyman, or even a twenty-six year old seminarian of today, who would not deal with Alice's questions frankly, honestly and helpfully. The questions are proper ones, even though precocious; it is unfortunate that the author does not seem to know that the answers can be found within the family of the Church.

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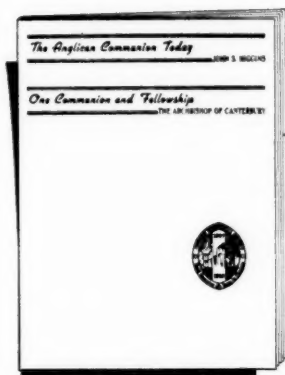
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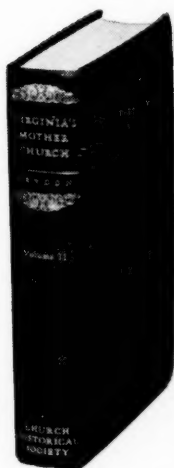
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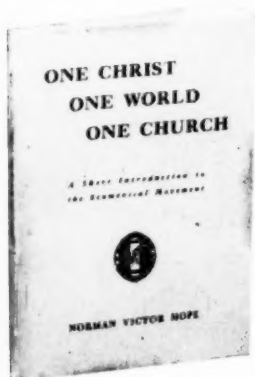
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Not the least valuable part of this book is the author's analysis of the nature of the very serious theological and social difficulties which beset the Ecumenical Movement at the present time, one of the most important of which is the lack of any live interest in the subject by clergy and laity at local levels in all communions. A general reading of this small book would help considerably in solving this latter problem."—*The Witness*.

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